The Outlook

APRIL 6, 1921

ARMED COMMUNISM IN GERMANY

THE recent outbreaks in Germany have been variously described as industrial, Communistic, and Bolshevik. The fact that the police are everywhere scrutinizing the passports and papers of foreigners in Germany, and especially seeking for Russian agitators, is pretty strong evidence that the authorities believe that Russian Bolshevist propaganda is back of the outbreak.

So far—that is, up to March 29—the police, aided in some places by the Reichswehr troops, have put down the revolts, but it is characteristic of the movement that disorder appears in one place about as fast as it is put down in another. Thus we read of strikes in many distant places; of agitation and violence in the Elbe Valley; of actual fighting on what seems to have been a rather large scale at Hettstedt, where, by the way, one poster of the Red agitators is quoted in despatches as saying, "We slaughter *bourgeoisie* without distinction of age or sex;" disturbances at Halle, at Bitterfeld, where looters are said to have disarmed the local police; at Sangerhausen, where bandits (or, as one despatch says, workmen) operated an armored train.

These names of towns and mention of disturbances are symptomatic of what has been going on in a large number of places. It is impossible at this writing to speak confidently either of the causes or the probable results of this scattered attack on the Government. It may be noted, however, that the Berlin papers, according to Associated Press despatches, assert that the German Government's view is that there is an attempt to provoke a general strike and outbreak, and that this is "a determined and systematic plot, the inspiration of which is directly traceable to Moscow, and whose single purpose is the establishment of a German soviet republic."

KAISER WILHELM, TAKE NOTICE!

THE German Emperor, as well as the present rulers of Germany, Austria, Hungary, and Turkey, are invited to note the following statement by the present ruler of Bulgaria.

The "Secolo" of Milan has published an interview with young King Boris in which he says:

> Badly counseled and deceived, Bulgaria was guilty of an error in 1915. Repentant, and desirous of effacing her black page, she is to-day sincerely desirous of submitting herself to the most drastic requirements of the Treaty of Peace. Such loyalty ought at least to aid her in regaining the confidence of Europe. . . .
>
> Disarmed, amputated, stifled within her reduced frontiers, Bulgaria is at this hour a great broken body. Despite this, she remains an element of order and continues to guard civilization in view of the troubled Orient.

The above indicates, at least, that Bulgaria now understands on which side her bread was buttered!

(C) Kadel & Herbert

BELGIAN TROOPS MARCHING THROUGH THE STREETS OF DÜSSELDORF, WITH THE BISMARCK MONUMENT AT THE RIGHT

ADMINISTERING GERMANY

THOUGH many Germans seem to be under the impression that Germany did not lose the war, there is some evidence to the contrary. Four years ago Germany was deporting Belgians with a view to replacing them with Germans and making Belgium a German province. Now pictures are coming into this country showing French and Belgian troops marching unopposed through the streets of German cities and past statues of Bismarck and Frederick the Great. Four years ago the Germans were making of parts of Poland a wilderness. Now an Inter-Allied Commission is occupying Upper Silesia, and British, French, and Italian troops have been guarding this area while its inhabitants have been deciding whether they wish to be detached from Germany and be made a part of free Poland.

As announced by the Inter-Allied Commission, the vote was 716,408 in favor of Germany, 471,406 in favor of Poland. Thus the majority in all of Upper Silesia in general is pro-German, but a considerable part of this majority consisted of natives who had gone to live elsewhere but had been imported for voting purposes. When the vote is examined, moreover, that part of the province which is worth the most because of its mining resources proves to be largely Polish. In the vital part of it the Polish vote exceeds the German.

The vote will not of itself determine the destiny of Upper Silesia. The boundary-line, the Versailles treaty stipulates, is to be drawn by the Allies, with regard "to the wishes of the inhabitants shown by the vote, and to the geographical and economic conditions of the locality" involved. This means, for example, that a settlement of mine workers should not be separated from the mine where they work or a dependent country district from its city outlet. The plebiscite is not going to satisfy anybody, and may cause a great deal of discontent with the final decision, whatever it is.

Meanwhile the Inter-Allied Commission has opened courts martial to try persons accused of inciting disorder. The

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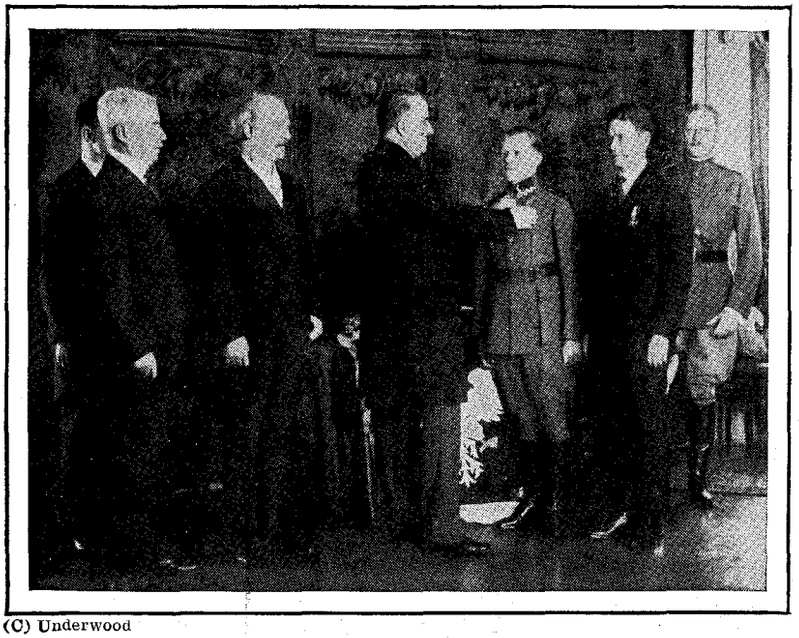

(C) Underwood

THE POLISH ENVOY, PRINCE LUBOMIRSKI, DECORATING AMERICAN AVIATORS FOR SERVICE IN POLAND

Left to right: Robert Lansing, Ignace Paderewski, Prince Lubomirski, Captain Harmon Rorison, Lieutenant Kenneth Shrewsbury, General Pershing

wonder is that there was not more disorder reported. The Allied troops apparently guarded the area well.

THE POLISH CONSTITUTION

After a long delay the Polish Diet has passed the Polish Constitution, which now becomes the fundamental law of the land.

It provides for a Parliament, consisting of a House and a Senate. There was a long fight in the Diet concerning the creation of a Senate; the result is a distinct victory for ex-Premier Paderewski, who advocated it. The members of both houses are to be chosen by popular vote. Men and women twenty-one years old are eligible to the franchise.

The executive power is vested in a President and a responsible Cabinet. The President is to be elected for a term of seven years by a National Assembly, composed of the members of the House and Senate. As equal rights are accorded to all religions, the President may be a Catholic or a Protestant. In Poland the Catholic Church is a separate institution from the Government, just as it is here or in France. The fact that a Protestant can become President shows the liberalism of the Poles, since the Protestant element in Poland does not amount to more than two per cent of the total population.

The President is Commander-in-Chief of all the military forces in time of peace, but in the event of war the responsibility is to shift to the Minister of War, who is empowered to appoint the Commander of the army. This is a remarkable provision when one considers the dominant character of the present President, Marshal Pilsudski.

The Constitution provides for free compulsory education in district and municipal schools. As every citizen has the right to the use of his own language and as the free development of minority nationalities living in Poland is assured, the different nationalities may have their own schools and teach their own languages under Government supervision and with partial support by the state.

Land reforms restrict the individual ownership of large tracts and all classes are to receive as nearly equal rights in this respect as possible. This provision is not quite satisfactory to many Poles, who protest that to divide a piece of land into small parcels and to distribute it among the peasants might bring about a condition in which every peasant would cultivate on his share of land only the necessary products for the support of his family and his immediate neighbors. A similar situation already exists in Russia, where the peasants have food but where the city people starve. It is notable that the agrarian provision passed the Polish Diet by the majority of one vote, that of the present Prime Minister, Vincent Witos, a peasant.

Finally, the care of orphans by the state is provided for, and night work by women and by children under fifteen years of age is prohibited.

Thus the new Polish Constitution should, in general, make for both political and social justice.

THE BERGDOLL CASE: "WHO WON THE WAR, ANYWAY?"

Bergdoll is a name that is likely to have a place in American history. Future generations are not likely to envy its eminence. The young man who has done injury to this name, Grover Cleveland Bergdoll, has gone to his own place —Germany. Convicted and in custody for desertion, he told a story of buried money and was allowed to go to get it under guard. His escape, for which real responsibility has never been fixed, was a scandal. When next heard from, he was in the enemy's country.

The sequel is an ironical farce. The two American soldiers, Neuf and Zimmer, who were on the point of apprehending him when they were arrested by German police, have been found guilty in a German criminal court. Their offense was "an illegal assumption of power;" and now newspaper despatches tell us that the helpless American Government can do nothing with the German Government except to plead with it for pardon.

Americans who did their duty in the war, fought for their country, and thought that they had won a victory are naturally bewildered. On behalf of the American Legion, John T. Taylor, Vice-Chairman of the Legislative Committee, has sent to the Secretary of War a letter in which he says:

> The Bergdoll case as it now stands is a disgrace to the Government of the United States and is a cruel and undeserved insult to the five million men who served America in the World War. While Bergdoll, the slacker, army deserter, and criminal refugee from justice, speeds at will over the roads of Germany in a high-powered automobile, two young American boys, sergeants in the American Army, are this very day on trial before a German court at Mosbach, Germany, because, single-handed and alone, they placed patriotism before personal danger and, seeking to vindicate the honor and good name of America, attempted to bring Bergdoll to the justice he so richly deserves.
>
> If the Government continues to sit supinely by and allow these two red-blooded American sergeants to languish in a German prison, at the same time raising not so much as a finger to get Bergdoll back, not only will a blush of shame cover the faces of those of us who served, but the very bones of our dead from Château Thierry to Sedan will turn to ghostly question marks, shouting to us, "Who won the war, anyway, America or Germany?"

A CRIMINAL'S JAUNT TO WASHINGTON

There have been two kinds of criticism as regards the journey of Eugene V. Debs from his prison in Atlanta to Washington, where he had an interview with Attorney-General Daugherty,

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A FEW JOBS FOR THE PRESIDENT

AS SEEN IN CARTOONS SELECTED BY OUTLOOK READERS

Bronstrup in the San Francisco Chronicle

SURPLUS LIVE STOCK

From Mrs. Frank Ellsworth, Turlock, Cal.

From the Philadelphia Evening Public Ledger

DO IT NOW!

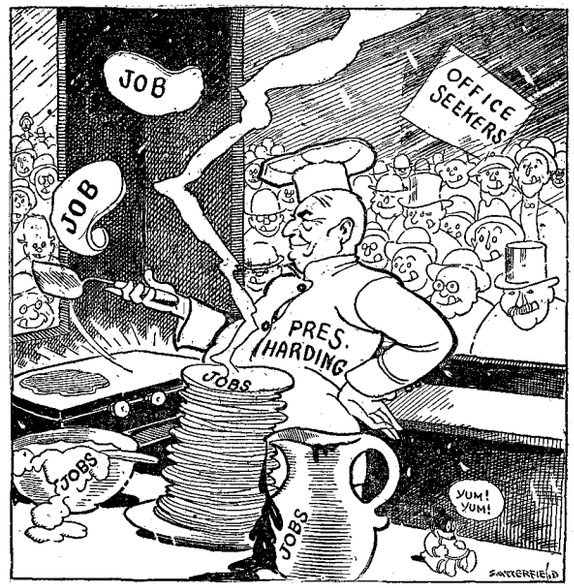
From Charles E. Clark, Jr., Philadelphia, Pa.

Armstrong in the Tacoma News Tribune

WAITING TO SEE THE DOCTOR!

From Mrs. Abbie A. Eells, San Diego, Cal.

Satterfield in the South Bend News-Times



HOT CAKES AND MAPLE SYRUP

From W. S. Schmidt, Mishawaka, Ind.

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presumably for the purpose of presenting a plea for release. One form of criticism, which has been emphasized strongly by one of the American Legion departments, is that it is wrong that special privileges should be given to one convict that are not and would not be accorded to others. This refers to the fact that Debs was allowed to make this journey under his personal parole of honor and was not accompanied by any officer. It is urged that to give such privileges to a man who was justly convicted for publicly denouncing the war in which this country was engaged and for advising American citizens to oppose and hinder this war is an insult to the American soldiers who fought that war for the safety of the world and for the American people who loyally and patriotically supported the soldiers in the field.

The other form of criticism is that to take this special course with any convict under the Espionage Act while technically this country is still in a state of war with Germany is wrong, that all offenders of this kind should serve out their sentences, or at least that even if a pardon should be granted in the future it should not be at this stage of international affairs.

Eugene V. Debs is serving a sentence of ten years in the Atlanta Federal prison. He was the candidate of the Social Democratic party for President in 1900, and was candidate of the Socialist party for President in 1904, 1908, 1912, and finally was once more candidate in 1920, while he was a convicted prisoner in the penitentiary.

He is a man of considerable intellectual ability, but his Socialism is of a radical and revolutionary type and his loyalty did not stand the test so finely met by many Socialists, such as John Spargo, to mention one only. This is not the first time that Mr. Debs has been incarcerated, for he was sent to jail in 1894 under the charge of violating an injunction relating to a railway strike. That sentence was presumably legal, but opinions might fairly differ as to the desirability of criminal prosecution in such a case. There can be no question whatever, on the other hand, that open opposition to the will of the country when it is fighting for its life against autocracy is an offense that cannot be passed over unpunished by any self-respecting government or people. The offense charged was not "political;" it was criminal.

JERSEY JUSTICE

On March 12 an unspeakable tragedy took place at Perth Amboy, New Jersey. Two days after his crime the Negro assailant of his woman victim was arrested. Four days later he was indicted. Five days later the trial began. It took five hours and forty-eight minutes. The elapsed time from crime to conviction was eleven days and twelve hours.

In the course of this swift justice all the legal rights of the Negro were preserved; no common law protection was denied him. He was condemned to death.

The attention of other States should be directed to this case—States where there have been lynchings and States where there have been delays in bringing prisoners to trial, delays in arriving at verdicts, and more delays through appeals to higher courts on technical questions of law.

TEACHERS' SALARY SHORTAGE

It has been impossible heretofore to find reliable data which would enable one city to compare its school conditions with those of other communities of its class. A comprehensive school survey has been carried out with the object of collecting authoritative data from all sections of the country. Upwards of four hundred cities with populations of eight thousand, or about one-half of the cities of the country, are included. The survey has been conducted by the National Committee of Chambers of Commerce co-operating with the public schools. By eliciting and organizing the interest of the Chambers of Commerce in four hundred cities, it is believed that an important forward step has been taken in solving the present educational problem.

The survey discloses the fact that the average increase in the salaries of public school teachers since 1913–14 has been sixty-one per cent. Even before the war it was generally recognized that the pay of teachers was wholly inadequate. During the war period the cost of living, as all the world knows, has increased over one hundred per cent. With the decreased purchasing power of the dollar, the average school-teacher is therefore considerably less well off than before the war. The innumerable campaigns throughout the country in the interest of the school-teacher have resulted in relieving the situation of the teacher of the elementary school and of the school employees, but relief has stopped there. In the pre-war period less than ten per cent of the teachers in the cities throughout the country received salaries under five hundred dollars a year. Today such salaries are received by less than one-half of one per cent. Before 1914 twelve per cent of the elementary school teachers of the country received as much as one thousand dollars a year, while the close of the war period found this proportion raised to seventy-one per cent.

The American teacher above the elementary grade has not shared in this increase. The conditions are especially disturbing concerning the school superintendent, his assistants, and the teachers of the higher grades. Although the clerical force of the schools have had their salaries raised seventy-eight per cent, the school superintendent has been raised but forty per cent, and the assistant twenty-four per cent. The school uperintendent fills a position of high responsibility in the community, demanding not only adequate academic training but the highest executive ability. His salary, however, in most American cities is less than that paid even to the unskilled mechanic.

As the salary of the school-teacher is held down, the amount of training of the school-teacher is inevitably lowered, with disastrous results. In most American cities the Boards of Education require the teachers in their elementary schools at least to be graduates of a standard normal school. In other words, they should have received two years' professional training after having graduated from a high school course of four years. One-third of the public school teachers in our American cities have had less training than even this low standard, while in the country about two-thirds of all the teachers are equally deficient. It comes as a shock to learn that there are many thousands of teachers actively engaged in the elementary schools of our American cities who have had less preparation for their work than that afforded by a four-year high school course, while the condition in the rural districts is much worse.

KING ALBERT'S TROPHY

King Albert of Belgium has offered a trophy for an international transatlantic yacht race, to be held during the summer of 1921. The race is scheduled to begin on July 4, and the entire arrangements for starting the voyagers off have been left in the hands of a committee representing three of the leading American yacht clubs. The race is open to sailing yachts of every size. There will be no postponement—even if there is a twenty-five-knot breeze on the day set for the start!

With memories of the disappointing races between the Shamrock IV and the Resolute still fresh in the mind of the yachting world, this race for real seagoing vessels ought to occupy a leading place among the sporting events of the coming year.

The last transatlantic race was sailed in 1905. It was won by the three-masted schooner Atlantic, a picture of which

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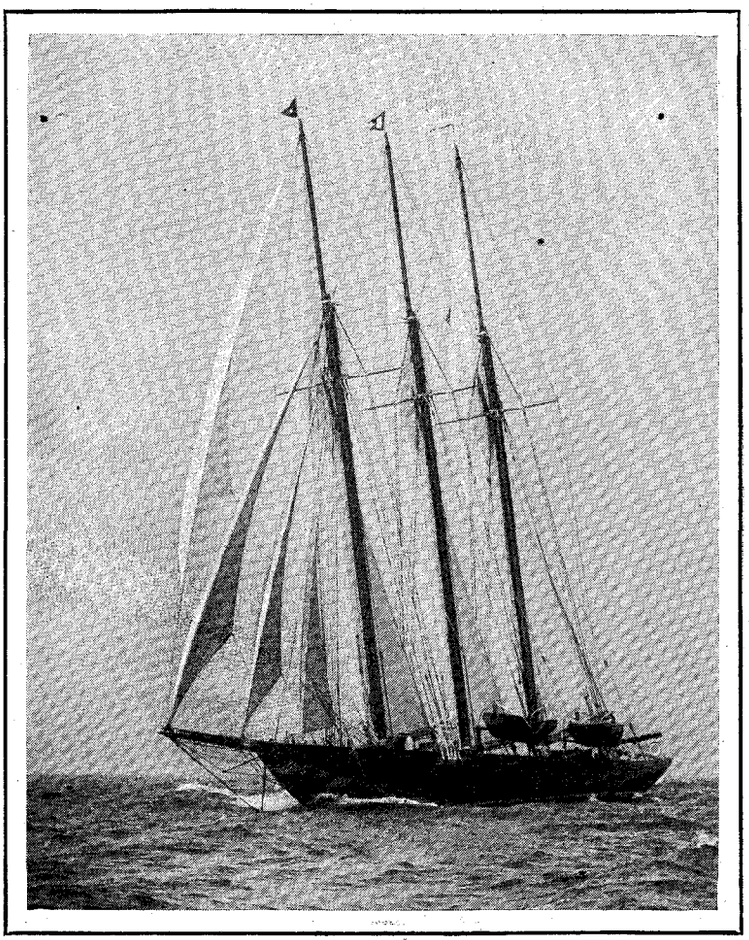
appears on this page. This race was for a trophy given by the erstwhile German Emperor. During the war the trophy, supposed to be of solid gold, was given as a contribution to the Red Cross. When it was broken up, it was discovered that, instead of being of solid gold, it was only plated.

This characteristic sham, however, detracts in no way from the splendid record made by the Atlantic. She sailed from Sandy Hook to Bishop's Rock, Scilly Islands, a distance of just over three thousand miles, in eleven days sixteen hours and twenty-two minutes. She reached the Lizard, on the coast of Cornwall, in twelve days four hours and one minute.

Even in the days of the clipper ships such a passage would have been phenomenal. The fastest similar trip of a sailing vessel was made by the Red Jacket in 1854. The voyage between America and England was made by this vessel in thirteen days and one hour.



Levick

THE ATLANTIC, WINNER OF THE LAST TRANSATLANTIC RACE

THE RED WOLF IN RUSSIA

IT is refreshing to find that our new Secretary of State has a clear-headed view of the Russian situation. Mr. Hughes's note to the Soviet leaders is free from that distorted vision which has had too much vogue in England. Those obsessed by that deplorable idea seem to hug the illusion that if friendly trade relations are established between Russia as it is and the other nations the result will be moral and political regeneration in the hearts of the Bolshevik terrorists.

"Feed and pet the wolf," say the advocates of this view, "and he will grow so kind and gentle that all your lambs will be safe." That is not the nature of a wolf; and it is not the nature of the despotism now existing in Russia—a despotism that hardly pretends to have the support of a majority of the Russian people and which has no democratic or constitutional base whatever. Let us not reward Lenine for strangling democracy nor substitute the despotism of a Ulianov for that of a Romanov. If the Reds of Russia are tame, let their leaders show their conversion to humane and honest political principles by calling for such a Constitutional Assembly as that which they threw out of doors (literally) when they overcame the Kerensky Government. That, and only that, will satisfy the world that representative government—call it what you will, democracy or Socialism—and not autocracy, is to govern in proletarian Russia.

Secretary Hughes accords perfectly with Secretary Hoover in the latter's recent statement. Mr. Hoover had pointed out that America cannot trade with Red Russia because the latter has nothing to offer in exchange. Mr. Hughes declares much the same thing when he says:

"There is no assurance for the development of trade, as the supplies which Russia might now be able to obtain would be wholly inadequate to meet her needs, and no lasting good can result so long as the present causes of progressive impoverishment continue to operate."

Even better than this is Mr. Hughes's direct declaration that "production is conditioned upon the safety of life, the recognition of firm guaranties of private property, the sanctity of contract, and the rights of free labor."

If any one should doubt the application of this positive utterance, he will find it in Mr. Hughes's further statement to the effect that our Government will welcome convincing evidence of such changes, but that such evidence has not yet been supplied, and until we have it we cannot see any proper basis for establishing trade relations with Russia.

The Red Wolf of Russia is not just yet to be recommended as a friendly playmate for the American business man.

A MAMMOTH MOVIE BUT A TAWDRY MELODRAMA

THERE could hardly be a better example than Mr. D. W. Griffith's remarkable moving-picture play called "'Way Down East" of the assertion in Mr. H. T. Pulsifer's recent article in The Outlook called "The World's Worst Failure" that the movies "have ransacked the granaries of drama and fiction and borne off more often the chaff than the wheat." It is all the better as an illustration because this play is not immoral; there is very little in it that would offend even fastidious taste; and it has a good theme in its picture of the life of plain New England people. But to the lover of the art of the drama it is in plot, incident, and substance the cheapest kind of what we used to call Bowery melodrama.

In such plays virtue always triumphs and the villain "gets his." Think of it; to produce this play hundreds of thousands of dollars were spent, months of time were consumed, the pictorial effects were worked out under the skillful di-

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LILLIAN GISH AS "ANNA MOORE" AND RICHARD BARTHELMESS AS "DAVID BARTLETT" IN "'WAY DOWN EAST"

rection of probably the best producer in the country. The management boasts: "This is the most expensive entertainment since Cæsar plated the arena with silver for the citizens of Rome." Yet we find in plot and incident old material utilized from time immemorial in scores of cheap appeals to audiences of the least cultivated dramatic taste. Once more stale stage incidents are put in motion; we see the mock marriage, the deluded innocent girl, the poor little baby that dies, the awakening of the mother to her undeserved shame, her efforts to get work, the evil scandal-mongers pursuing her in her honest attempt; the turning of the poor girl out in the cold, cold snowstorm, and, of course, her final rescue and happy marriage.

Perhaps this melodramatic character of the play is more evident in the moving picture than it was in the original play, and the comic part also may well be cheaper in its appeal than in the play itself.

Looked at thus baldly, apart from the scenic effects, what could be less valuable as art? One feels that there has been a tremendous expenditure of effort and skill in producing something which is worthless. It is but fair to add that from the scenic point of view alone "'Way Down East" is extremely well worth seeing. There are charming pictures of New England country life, out of doors and indoors; a quite remarkable, reticent use of color in some of the pictures; while the effects of storm, of the breaking up of great ice fields, and especially of the crashing and fall of ice masses over a dam, are perhaps unequaled in the history of moving-picture production in this country.

A SOP TO COLOMBIA'S FEELINGS

WE earnestly hope that all those who are not acquainted with the history of the transactions in 1903 between the United States, Colombia, and the newly formed Republic of Panama will read with care the article in another part of this paper by Mr. O. S. Payne.

"A sop to her feelings," is the phrase used by this writer to describe the proposed payment by the United States to Colombia of twenty-five million dollars. The conclusion that the writer reaches is that to offer such a sop to Colombia would be a dishonor to the United States and also "that it would be dishonorable of Colombia to accept it, and that such action would endanger to both nations the respect and confidence, not only of the Pan-American nations, but of all the civilized nations of the world."

If this were a mere expression of opinion it would be of little value, but it is based on a thorough and exhaustive study of the history of the relations between the United States, Panama, and Colombia. This survey is historical in the fullest sense and it is written with moderation, restraint, and fair-mindedness.

It is probable that the question of ratifying the one-sided treaty which has more than once failed of consideration in the Senate will be one of the first things to be brought to the attention of the United States Senate in the special session of the new Congress. It is almost axiomatic that there should be full consideration of the history, not only of what was done and what was not done by this country in 1903, but of the obligations and duties it assumed under previous treaties. As we have more than once pointed out, and as is made strikingly clear in Mr. Payne's article, the obligation of the United States was not to uphold Colombia in her claim of being the overlord of Panama nor to protect Colombia from internal dissension; our duty was to maintain peace and neutrality on the Isthmus, to insure safe transit across the Isthmus, and, if necessary, to protect both Panama and Colombia from attack by foreign Powers—that is, to maintain the Monroe Doctrine as we do with the other southern republics.

To carry out these obligations the United States had the right to interfere on the Isthmus or to refuse to interfere, and at different times it did both things, each with the object and purpose (and, we may add, with the complete and satisfactory *result)* of carrying out the obligations named above.

No more insulting and impudent attempt was ever made by one nation on another than that of Colombia to insist that the United States must uphold it against its own rebellious and oppressed revolutionists, that we should help Colombia in its planned purpose to drive the United States into paying an extortionate price for what Colombia had led this country to believe would be accepted at a fair price. A careful reading of Mr. Payne's article will bring out startlingly the fact that Colombia, after having technically refused to ratify the Hay-Herran Treaty at a juncture when it seemed to her that we would have to yield to newly formed demands for money, later showed herself perfectly willing to accept what she could get. This has been called international blackmail, and if such a phrase means anything it applies here. Mr. Payne puts the matter very quietly and moderately when he says:

> Certainly this record does not give Colombia the title of having acted according to true friendship in the light of the definition given. On the other hand, it can be said with equal force as regards the United States that confidence and respect could hardly be felt for if it, having the strength to defend itself, it supinely gave in to another nation when that other nation refused to live up to its agreement simply because it felt it could obtain more money by not doing so.

To pay money to a foreign country for no reason is to subject the United States to the suspicion of paying it for a bad reason. There is no evidence that the United States has received or is going to receive from Colombia twenty-five million dollars' worth of anything. The payment of such a sum would be a misuse of public funds and would be a sign of a feeble will.

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CARDINAL GIBBONS

I—CHURCHMAN AND CITIZEN

AN ESTIMATE

BY LYMAN ABBOTT

JAMES CARDINAL GIBBONS

Born in Baltimore, Maryland, July 23, 1834

Died in Baltimore, March 24, 1921

CARDINAL GIBBONS was of Irish parentage. As a child he was taken for a time to Ireland, where he began his education. He returned to the United States and lived with his family in New Orleans. He entered St. Charles's College, Maryland, in 1855, but transferred two years later to St. Mary's Seminary in Baltimore. He was ordained a priest in 1861. From that time until 1866 his life was bound up with the city of Baltimore and was marked by a succession of promotions within his Church. In 1886 he was made a Cardinal. For many years he was the only Prince of the Roman Catholic Church in America.

The news of Cardinal Gibbons's death brought sorrow to Americans of every faith. We publish here two tributes to the double service which he rendered America—his service as Churchman and as citizen. One of these tributes is by Lyman Abbott, Editor-in-Chief of The Outlook, who long followed with admiration the public phases of Cardinal Gibbons's career, and the other is the work of the journalist Mr. Charles Henry Meltzer, one of the Cardinal's personal friends.

IN 1898, a few weeks before our declaration of war against Spain, I was invited to meet Cardinal Gibbons at dinner in Baltimore. I had just before met President McKinley at Washington, and he told me that he was still praying for peace. I could not join with him in that prayer, for I had been told the substance of Senator Proctor's forthcoming report on conditions in Cuba, and I was convinced that neither could we allow those conditions to continue nor could we put an end to them except by military intervention. I could pray for justice, but not for a peace ounded on our acquiescence in injustice. I felt strongly, and I remember cautioning myself as I went to the dinner to be prudently silent. In a war between Protestant America and Roman Catholic Spain I assumed that the sympathies of the Cardinal would be with Roman Catholic Spain. I found, to my surprise, that he was as eager for the emancipation of Cuba as I was, though he still entertained the hope that some mediation might be arranged which would give liberty to Cuba but not independence, and so would secure the just rights of our neighbors without humiliating the sensitive pride of the Spanish people. I could not share in his hope, as I could not share in President McKinley's prayer, because it was very clear to me that Cuba could not trust any guaranties of constitutional government which Spain might offer, and that the not too stable Government of Spain could not consent to the independence of Cuba without facing the peril of a revolution at home.

But that evening gave me the key to Cardinal Gibbons's character, and probably inspired me to write during the anti-lottery campaign, in which he took an influential and I a humble part, the following tribute to him, uttered, I am glad to say, while he was still living—a tribute which I had forgotten but which I find included by the New York "Times" with recent tributes to his memory:

> Thank God for Cardinal Gibbons! Long may he wear his red cloak and his red cap; and, if there should be an election now, and you and I could vote, I would vote to make him Pope. He has flung out with courage and significance, has done other word in this by politician, or by preacher, to make the leaders of that Louisiana abomination call a halt.

Cardinal Gibbons was both a loyal Catholic and a loyal American, true alike to the principles of his Church and the principles of his country. Throughout his long career he was a lover of liberty—not a gentle and quiet lover of liberty in the solitude of his closet, but an active and aggressive soldier of liberty.

Against powerful ecclesiastical influence in the Roman Church, he stood for the right of laborers to organize in "unions" for the protection of their rights and the promotion of their interests, and he prevented a proposed ban against the Knights of Labor; not because he approved of all the methods pursued by that no longer existing organization, but because he believed in the right of laborers to make what organization they deemed best so long as it employed lawful and peaceable measures. But he vigorously opposed that form of Socialism which denies the rights of personal property and individual action, and proposes to substitute the despotism of a mob for the despotism of a czar. He asked for his own Church in America no favors, no special patronage, from the state; he asked for it only freedom and protection, the same freedom and protection which America extends to all lawful and peaceful organizations. He was therefore a firm believer in and a warm advocate of the separation of Church and State. "I belong," he said, "to a country where the civil government holds over us the ægis of its protection without interfering with us in the legitimate exercise of our sublime mission as ministers of the Gospel of Christ." He sympathized with Ireland; not because he wanted "the Irish vote," nor because he approved of all the vagaries of theory or of any of the acts of lawlessness of certain of the Sinn Feiners, but because he did not believe that repression is remedy, and he did believe that it was the duty of the present English Government to find a remedy for the chaos in Ireland or resign the task into other hands, a conclusion toward which American public sentiment is rapidly turning. He did not support National prohibition. This was not because he had any sympathy with the drink traffic in this country. That traffic has been severely condemned by the Roman Catholic Church in America, and in that condemnation, if I am not mistaken, Cardinal Gibbons took a prominent part. But as a Christian minister his prime interest was in promoting temperance—that is, self-control—as a personal virtue, and for that self-control he thought prohibition no substitute and a doubtful ally.

When the purposes of militaristic Germany to destroy the liberties of the peoples of other lands were revealed by the unprovoked attack on Belgium and France, he was from the first identified heartily with the forces of liberty, law, and justice.

A single fact is worth a volume of theory. If any controversial Protestant is inclined to say, as some have said, that no Roman Catholic can be a true lover of liberty, the conclusive answer

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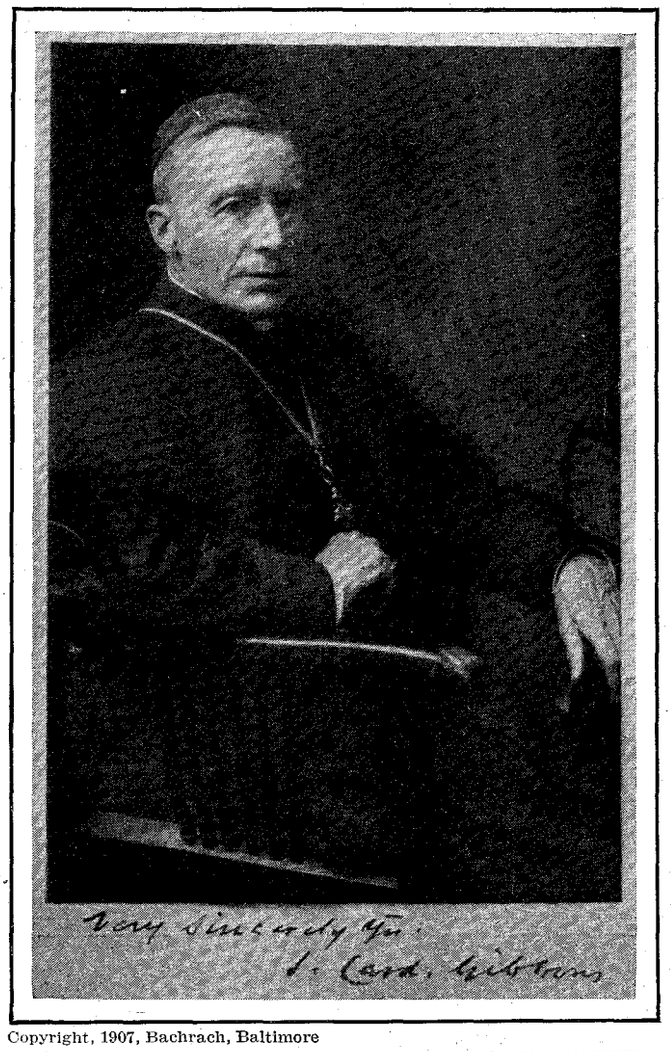
is—Cardinal Gibbons. Churchman and patriot, ecclesiastic and democrat, all the more loyal to his flag because loyal to his altar, servant of God, servant of his fellow-men, his character and career reveal not only to his own communion but to all his fellow-citizens of every faith the true ideal of a Christian priest.

LYMAN ABBOTT.

II—PRELATE AND FRIEND

REMINISCENCES BY CHARLES HENRY MELTZER



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CARDINAL GIBBONS'S PORTRAIT AUTOGRAPHED FOR MR. MELTZER

FOR five-and-thirty years it was my privilege to have the good will and, I think, the kindly friendship of the late Cardinal Gibbons. He helped me many times in my adventures as a special correspondent, not only with advice and information, but also with important commendations to high Catholic dignitaries.

I found him always, as all those who knew him did, a gentle, honest, wise, and studious man; a shrewd observer of his fellow-men; a loyal friend. He inspired in me a feeling of affection, born of respect and gratitude and something deeper—the fondness men might have for their own fathers. When I was very young, I met him first in Rome, where I was acting for the New York "Herald." And there I interviewed him, rather searchingly. He said afterwards that, though as a rule he fought shy of journalists, he had been gratified by his experience of me.

In later years I was sent back to Rome. Once (at the Cardinal's suggestion) to see him "get his hat" and to describe his enthronement. I stood near him when he took possession of his great titular church in Rome, Santa Maria in Trastevere. He looked very pale and wan, and solemn too, as he sat silent in that dark and mellow fane. A mild, benignant figure, then, as ever, pious and steadfast and yet very human.

An American monk with a German name who stood next to me seemed less impressed than I was at the time. He turned to me and said: "Well, well. There's Jim!"

Next to his own Cathedral, which meant more to him than the Lateran and St. Peter's, Cardinal Gibbons loved his ancient Roman church. He loved it for its warm, strange tones and beauty, its history, and its place in his own life. But Rome spelled less to him, I know, than Baltimore. And though at times they talked of him as a *papabile*, he would not have exchanged his modest Charles Street house for the vast spaces and the art of the whole Vatican. Nor was he fitted for the duties of a Pontiff. He knew America by heart, its ways and people. But he knew very little about cosmopolitan statesmanship, which Popes must master if they wish to rule. I often fancied he was ill at ease amid all the intrigues of the Roman Curia. He had to visit and revisit the Eternal City; but he seemed rather glad when he had done with it.

Yet time was when he played a mighty part in Rome. And I say this with the knowledge of a man who was mixed up with him in a small way and who was honored very often by his confidence. It was the time at which he had been called from Baltimore, not only to receive the "hat" awaiting him, but also to convey to Leo XIII and to five cardinals a confidential document concerning labor issues. He had been bidden before this to make inquiries into the then vexed question of the Knights of Labor. That forerunner of the existing Federation included in its ranks a host of Catholics. It was distrusted, and indeed forbidden, not because it was a labor organization, but because it was a secret society. The Propaganda Fide, the department charged with the administration of the so-called missionary countries, had been considering the enforcement of its rigid rule. It seemed about to go to the extreme by refusing to all Catholic Knights of Labor the benefits of the Sacraments.

Cardinal Gibbons had, however, been instructed by the Propaganda, speaking for Leo XIII of course, to first ascertain the views of every archbishop and bishop in the United States, to sum these up, and add to them his own. I had been seeing a good deal of him just then; but of a sudden he seemed inaccessible. In point of fact, he was then writing the report which was to guide the Vatican.

I managed somehow, thanks to certain influences, to get the first proof of this secret document. And, much against my will, I had to cable it—unknown to the Cardinal—to the New York "Herald." The incident stirred up a Roman scandal. For three years after that I had no access to his Eminence himself, who had been accused of having given me what I had published. By then, though, it had grown quite evident that my indiscretion had not harmed, but helped, his Church. For the report had strongly counseled Leo XIII (th[redacted] the Prefect of the Propaga[redacted] its hands off labor—not [redacted] Rome was wise en[redacted] Cardinal. The K[redacted]

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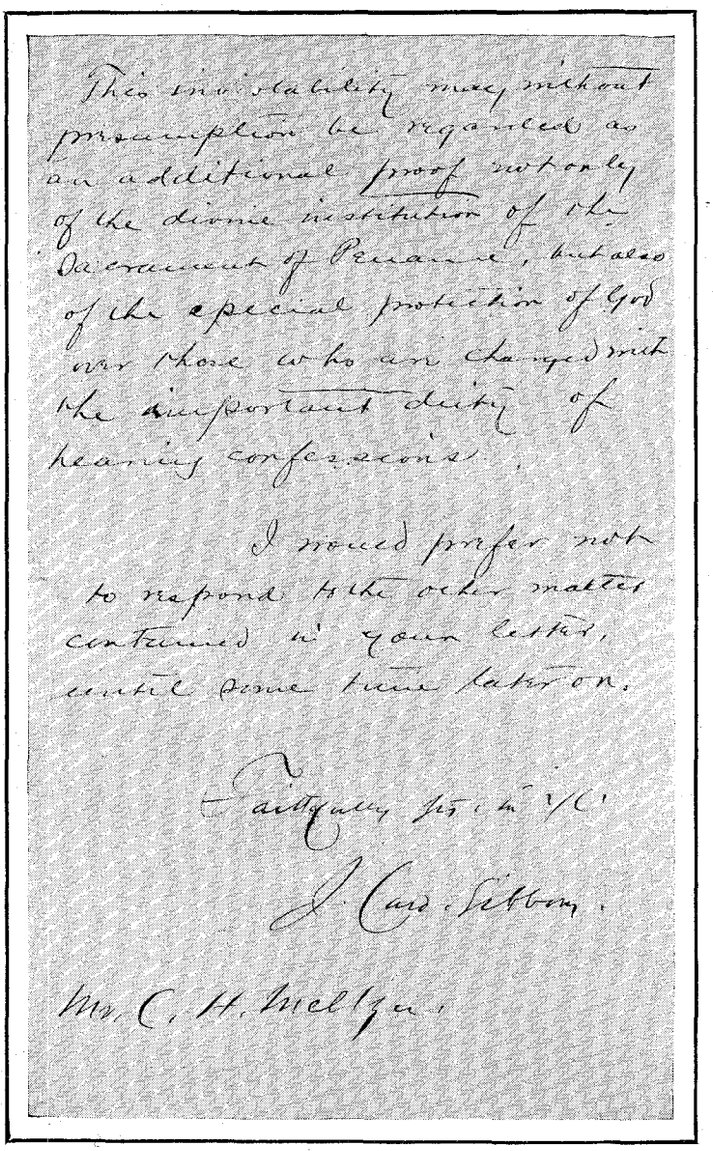
not interfered with. The "Moniteur de Rome" reprinted the report. Yet that same day, though not a Catholic, I got the Papal blessing.

The effect of the report was to promote the strength of what in Rome was just then called "Americanism." It helped for possibly ten years or so to broaden and democratize the Papal policy. It surely made the Roman Catholic Church more popular in the United States. Then, as the Pope grew old, the pendulum swung back again, thanks largely, as I now recall what happened, to the influence—which was hostile to Cardinal Gibbons and his ally, Archbishop Ireland—of Archbishop Corrigan.

Among my most valued autographs I have a letter from the Cardinal in which he speaks, after three years of stern displeasure, of the joy with which he looked back to all that happened. It opens with "*Haec olim meminisse juvabit.*" It wiped out all my newspaper delinquencies. It showed that I had regained the Cardinal's friendship. I have many other letters of his Eminence (as, from habit, I would call him, though he cared nothing for such courtesies) in my possession. One is an answer to a question I had put him, as a dramatic critic, as to the possibility of an incident in a play by Henry Arthur Jones entitled "Breaking the Seal," or something of the kind. It ran as follows:

> In reply to your esteemed favor of yesterday, I beg leave to say that I do not know of any instance under my own observation, nor of any recorded in ecclesiastical history, when the seal of the confessional was ever violated. This fact can be affirmed not only of those priests who have remained faithful to their sacred calling but even of those also who from time to time have proved unfaithful. This inviolability may without presumption be regarded as an additional *proof*, not only of the divine institution of the Sacrament of Penance, but also of the special protection of God over those who are charged with the important duty of hearing confessions. . . .
>
> Faithfully yours in Christ
> J. CARD. GIBBONS.

One of the episodes which marked the period of "Americanism" at the Vatican was the appointment, in a hot, impulsive moment, after some waverings, by Pope Leo, of the Papal delegation to this country. It was, to some extent, a consequence of the attitude of the then New York Archbishop toward the authority of Rome. Cardinal Gibbons, I remember, had not greatly favored the new move. He feared it would be misinterpreted by people who might not perceive the difference between a political nuncio or legate—an ambassador to a court or government—and a delegate, a link between the Church in Rome and the Church elsewhere. The late Cardinal, though he obeyed the Vatican, believed in letting well alone where that was possible. He had no liking for extremes of any [illegible]. And for that reason he did not [illegible]tion. Nor did Pope Leo, [illegible] love prohibi[illegible]ne in moderation, like who drank wi[illegible] almost all the priests and prelates I have known in Rome. The Cardinal preached nothing more than temperance. He had much sympathy with poor and frail humanity. I have had many a good glass of wine—real wine—with him abroad in Catholic colleges and at monkish boards. In other days I often dined with monks. And there was always wine of some sort at their meals.



PART OF CARDINAL GIBBONS'S LETTER TO MR. MELTZER

To know the Cardinal and understand him truly one had to meet him in his simple Charles Street home. There he unbent and showed one his big heart. Some of your readers may have seen the Cardinal's residence, which was, and is to-day, a local landmark. A plain, small, mid-Victorian sort of house, with a high flight of steps that lead up to the entrance. The reception-room on the first floor resembles all ecclesiastical reception-rooms. A prim, cold, cheerless waiting chamber, adorned with paintings (rather poor ones) of its owner and the reigning Pope. But on the floor above, if you were fortunate, the Cardinal would greet you in his sanctum. A dark and crowded, cozy, homelike spot, lined round with books, and warmed in the old way with a big open fireplace. The center of the room was occupied by a flat desk, at which he worked. And there, one evening in the long ago, I sat with the good Cardinal and helped him, to the best of my ability, to shape his impressions of Pope Leo for my paper—then the New York "World." At his request I later sent the Pope a copy of his memorable article, which was in due course reproduced in Rome as "the beautiful words of our American Cardinal."

I wonder what his well-loved Baltimoreans will do now that the hand of death has taken from them their most famous citizen. He was for countless years a glory of the place. His frail form and ascetic, wasted face were dear to all. There was something touching in his dress—his ill-brushed hat, his scarlet tie, his long black coat. He did, to be quite frank, dress rather carelessly. So did another Cardinal I knew in the dim past—Cardinal Manning.

But there was nothing careless in his life or thought. His conscience held him tightly, with a grip of iron. It seems but yesterday that we were all congratulating him on the occasion of his Golden Jubilee. And now—he has passed on, to join the just.

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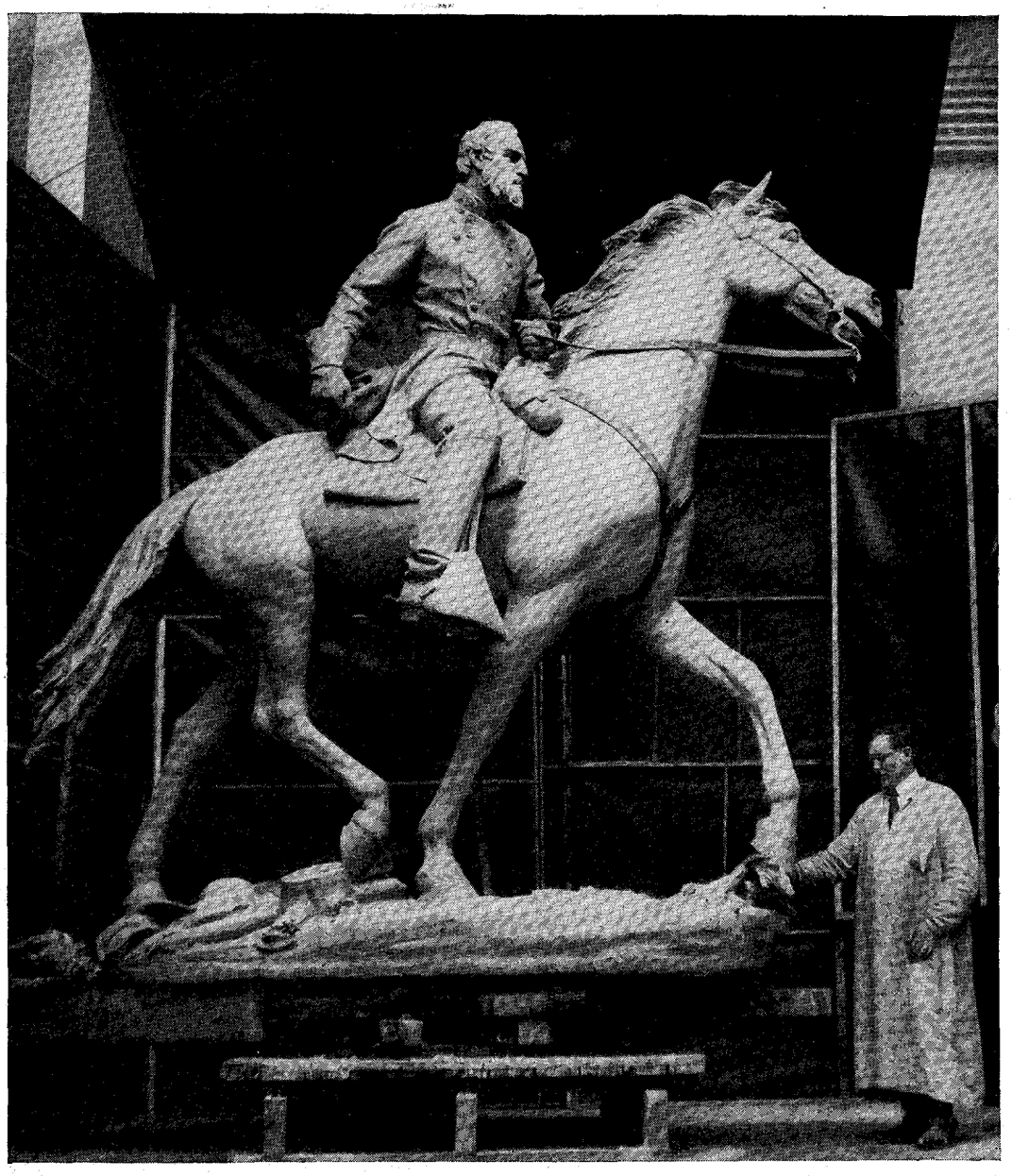
A GREAT AMERICAN SOLDIER



Wide World Photos

STATUE OF THE FAMOUS CONFEDERATE LEADER
GENERAL "STONEWALL" JACKSON

This statue, by Charles Keck, of New York City, will be erected in Charlottesville, Virginia, and will probably be unveiled during the coming fall. The sculptor has, we are informed, modeled the figure of General Jackson from photographs and from descriptions by his contemporaries, and he has similarly studied the horse on which General Jackson is mounted. Mr. Keck's other statues include one of George Washington in Buenos Aires, Argentina, and of Lewis and Clarke, the explorers, also erected in Charlottesville. He has in preparation a statue of Booker Washington to be erected in Tuskegee, Alabama. Mr. Keck is a member of the New York City Art Commission. He is a graduate of the American Academy at Rome

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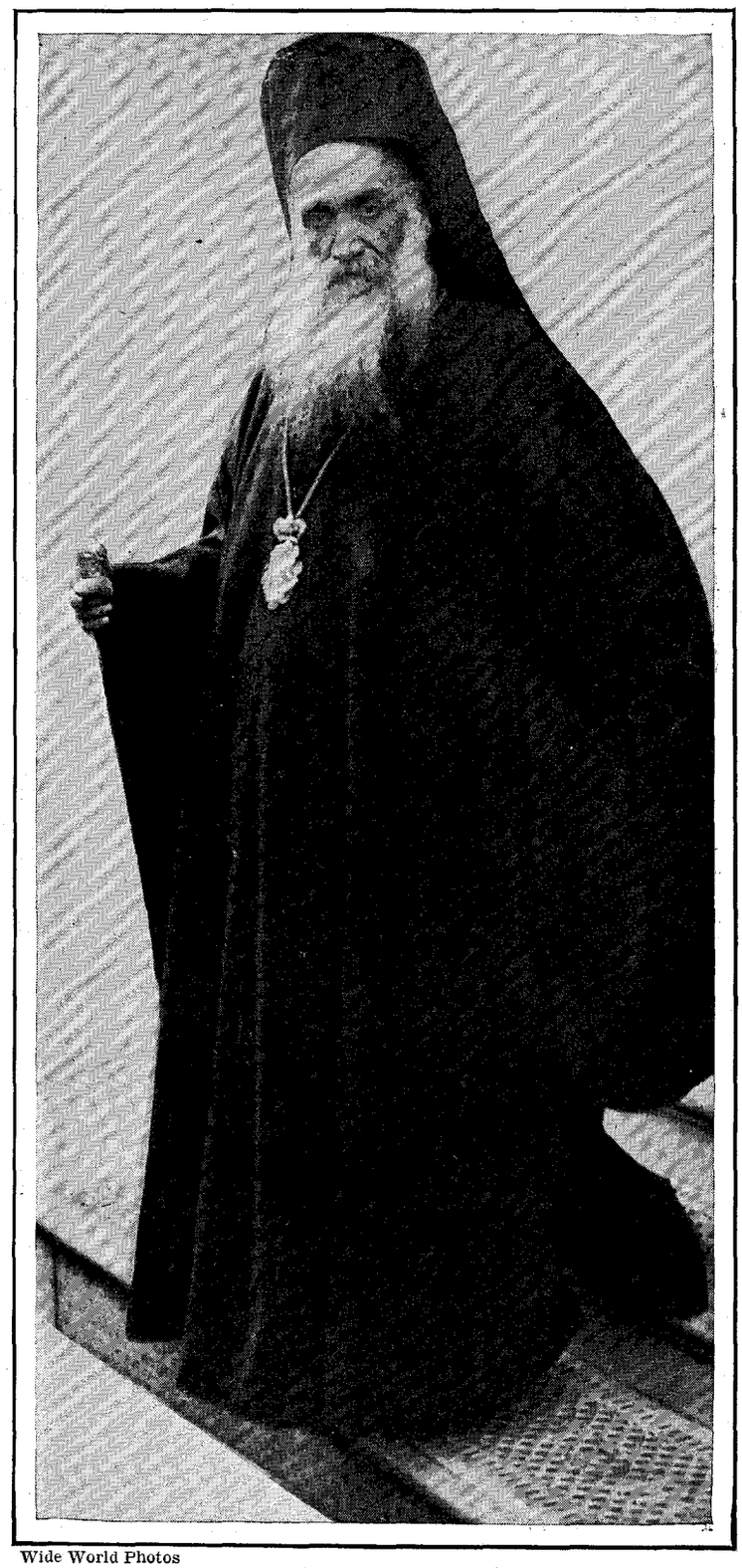
AN EMINENT EASTERN PRELATE



Wide World Photos

DOROTHEOS, ACTING PATRIARCH OF CONSTANTINOPLE, IN LONDON AT THE MEETING OF THE ALLIED PREMIERS

The arrival of the Patriarch in London was a historic event, for this was the first time, it is announced, that the head of the Greek Church has visited London officially. He came to plead before the Allied Conference for the millions of Christians included in the Greek Orthodox Church.

From the sixth century of our era the Patriarch of Constantinople has been the "Œcumenical Patriarch;" not only the "universal" patriarch, as the name would imply, but, in particular, chief among the four patriarchs of the Greek Church, the others being at Alexandria, Antioch, and Jerusalem. With all these patriarchates the Russian Church, an offshoot of the Greek, maintains the relations of a sister Church. The Russian Church has its own patriarchate at Moscow. After the reign of Peter the Great the patriarchate of Moscow was represented by the Holy Synod, but under the Kerensky Government the patriarchate was revived, its first incumbent being Archbishop Tikhon, formerly of the Russian Cathedral in New York City. When the Bolsheviki obtained power, disestablished the Church and appropriated its property, the Patriarch fell into their hands, and has since been imprisoned and tortured by them in their efforts to obtain from him some recognition of the Bolshevik Government.

With the break-up of the old Empires of Russia and Turkey millions of communicants in the Eastern Church have but exchanged one governmental yoke for another. On behalf of all these, Dorotheos, Acting Patriarch of Constantinople, is spokesman. In an interview published in July, 1919, in The Outlook he said, for instance, of Russia: "Between Christianity and the present Bolshevism there can be no compromise. They are as different as white and black, as good and evil. There are millions of Russians who can never forgive the Bolsheviki for their persecution of the Church." He expressed at this time his faith in a league or union of churches throughout the world by which the various Christian faiths would be allotted particular fields for their activity

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A DAY DREAM

BY DAVID MANNES

ALONG Fifth Avenue, on a cold, blustering day not long ago, I passed many churches, most of them with doors closed. The only information they gave to the passer-by was the bulletin-board on which were posted announcements of next Sunday's attractions and the texts of sermons, sensational in style and so obviously worded as to attract the unwilling church-goer.

I came upon one church that had an air of usefulness about it; for people in every walk of life were quietly going up its few stone steps in seriousness of purpose, with none of the manner of the conventional Sunday church gathering, which is more or less interested in the clothes and behavior of others. The doors were wide open; a notice on the usual bulletin-board said, simply:

"An hour daily for rest and meditation from 12 to 1."

I went in also. The first view of the vestibule was startling, for in spaces along the walls between the entrance doors were many book-shelves with books in every conceivable color and binding. Partitioned off in groups was this library of philosophers. There were works of Confucius, Buddha, Mohammed, Aristotle, Plato, and, of course, various editions of the Bible. There were also the writings of the poet-philosophers—Shakespeare, Browning, Walt Whitman, and others. People were choosing these volumes without the assistance of a librarian, and, in fact, no attendant or guard was in sight. The people would take the books of their choice into the church proper to read. During my stay in the foyer I felt and heard the power of a glorious organ playing something I did not know, perhaps an old Bach choral. Then, as I went in quietly with others, I saw, to my amazement, that nearly every pew was filled with what I should say represented a cross-section of the human life of the great city. Men and women head-workers and manual laborers of every race and creed sat silently, some bent over books, others resting their heads on the back of their pews in utter relaxation and in utter individualism, consciously alone, but unconsciously taking part in unified thought. There was no sign of movement in the chancel, only the sound of the organ. This music, without programme, impersonal, unsensational in its finer and subtler sense, was sensational in its quieting effect on the spirit. Contemplation reigned supreme.

I saw that it was 12:45 o'clock. People were leaving quietly, and very soon there remained only a few, evidently those who could afford the time to stay and rest. At one o'clock all was silent. I went forward, intending to find out, if possible, the origin of this most wonderful service. In the organ-loft I saw the organist closing the console of the organ, preparing to leave.

"Are you here every day at this time?" I asked him.

"Yes," he replied, "every day throughout the year."

"Whose idea is this? Who ever thought of doing this wonderful thing?"

"It's everybody's idea. Everybody wanted it. I wanted it," he went on, "perhaps more than many. I simply had the opportunity to put a dream into actual life. After all, most beautiful dreams come true. We are the creators of existence; we make life what it is. We make all the awful mess of it, the lying hypocrisy, the war—oh, the war of it! We could make our dreams come true; instead, we make our worst terrors come truer than terror itself, just because we do not believe."

"Believe in what?" I asked.

"Just believe. No human being believes in horror. No, no one. And it is only our faint-heartedness in our first and finest convictions which allows the destruction of reverence for each other and reverence for the nobility in ourselves. When that goes, little by little, through trading our birthright of divinity for this wreck we have made of our existence, we must have recurrences of inflammation of the worst in us, and war, more fearful, more horrible, than imagination can picture, will be the outcome."

"How can you, a young man, feel all this?" I asked him curiously, for he seemed merely a boy, though he must have been twenty-seven or twenty-eight, slim, with regular features, short brownish hair, and dreamy, far-seeing eyes.

He was quiet for a moment, looking off somewhere not in the line of actual vision.

"As an organist I came to this church in 1913," he began. "I had studied the organ here, and later in France with a wonderful master. I played and conceived my duties here as a professional organist and life was good to me. As a very young man I neither felt deeply nor thought deeply, although I imagined I did. I held my rehearsals, I conducted the musical part of the service in strict accordance with what I conceived to be my professional duty. I was quite satisfied with everything, just as we all are when things go smoothly.

"Then, in 1914, Belgium was invaded; Louvain was sacked; cathedrals were destroyed and homes ravaged. I woke up from a selfish dream, waited and waited for my country to declare war. I waited until I could delay no longer, and then enlisted as a private in the British service, fought in France, was wounded, and fought again. And then I knew—knew so well—that our philosophy of living was wrong, wrong as the devil in us is wrong, and I knew that even the Church had failed, miserably and completely, for it was not human, it was not liberal, and it was not universal. It was professional—I mean commercially professional—and this, like the same poison in the practice of medicine, law, education, or music, could only make progress lag behind. For behind our dreams there must be a universal and a practical understanding between one individual and another. This Tower of Babel, professionalism, increasing in height to the sky, could only in time blot out the sun of understanding forever. The Church is a symbol, and the very fact that it was worshiped as such was proving that the power of its mind had departed through atrophy of its vital parts, brought about by lack of exercise of the liberty of its intangible freedom. There must be, and there was to be, the link at hand, this bond of love between all the inhabitants of the earth—music. And music, like the Church itself, must be harnessed to its real load and rid itself of intellectual snobbery and professional short-sightedness. We musicians are much to blame. I have sinned, and am only trying to do penance."

All this time there had been no word of the Redeemer, and yet here was one who was following, afar off, this very old and very cold trail.

"How did this church allow you to do this?" I asked.

"Since 1918 I have pleaded and pleaded for the privilege, and at last I was allowed to do this without announcing the fact other than by the small notic you saw outside. At first a few cam out of curiosity. The gathering y saw to-day is of two months' growth. a year other churches must follow. And then, think of it! To know that at noontime, between twelve and one—every day —all our churches are filled, and the synagogues, too! Wouldn't that be a wonderful thought? Then we would know that our material investment in the churches was bearing a divine (and when I say divine I mean human) interest which will compound itself so wonderfully that, well—" and here he suddenly stopped.

Finally I broke the silence: "And the books outside, in the foyer?"

"Oh," he said, "I put a few there myself; then I was given gradually, week by week, many others from people who possessed them but never read them."

"Are they ever stolen?"

"No," he replied. "Sometimes they disappear for a week or two. Then they come back. I am glad when this happens, for then I know that they are cared for."

"Doesn't the music interfere with the reading?" I asked.

"Yes; but it should, for a line of the philosophers is enough for contemplation for some time. And those with whom music interferes in prolonged reading—but then, look!"

And I saw, through the grille of the choir screen, dotted here and th about fifty people reading.

"Sometimes they remain hours," he explained. " the doors."

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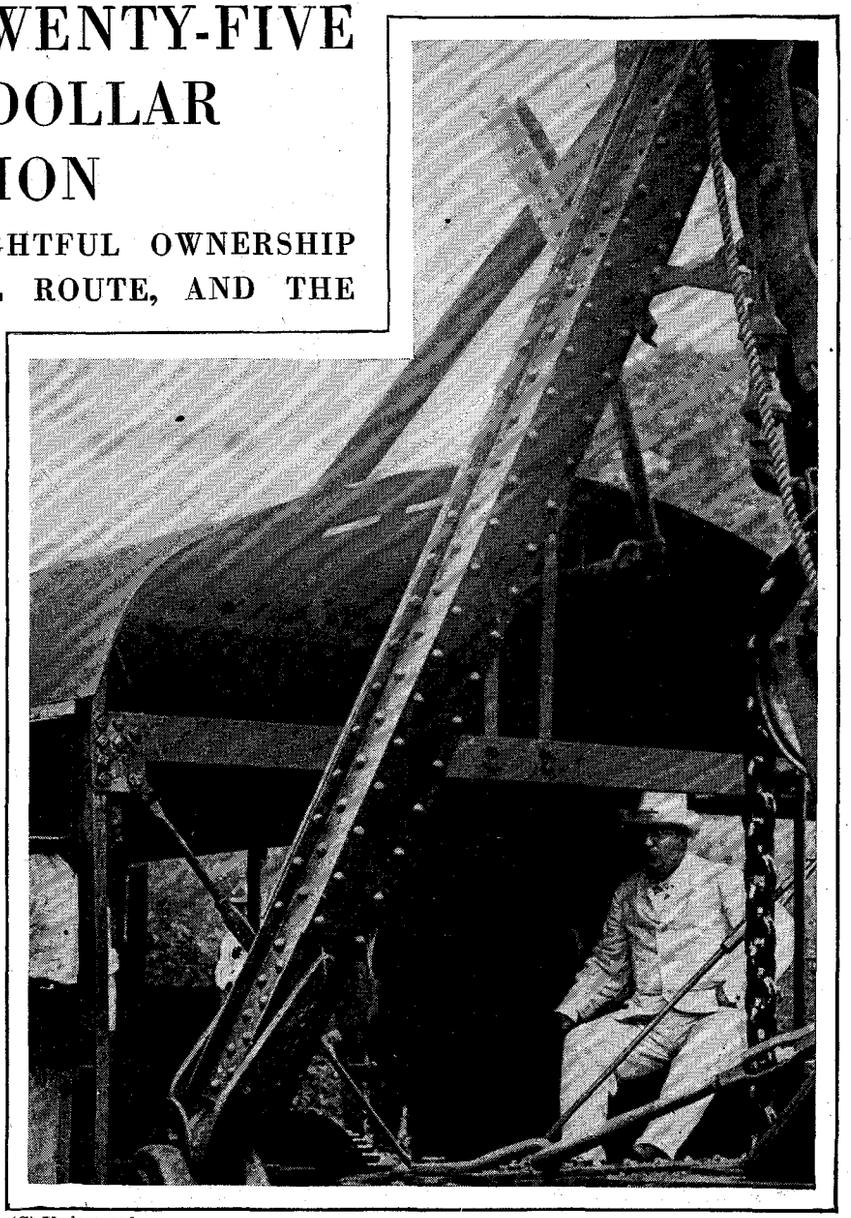
COLOMBIA'S TWENTY-FIVE MILLION DOLLAR DELUSION

A HISTORY OF THE RIGHTFUL OWNERSHIP OF THE PANAMA CANAL ROUTE, AND THE REASONS WHY NEITHER RESTITUTION, NOR APOLOGY, NOR MONEY PAYMENT IS IN ACCORD WITH INTERNATIONAL LAW OR INTERNATIONAL HONOR

BY O. S. PAYNE



(C) Underwood

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, THE CREATOR OF THE PANAMA CANAL, ON HIS VISIT OF INSPECTION TO THE CANAL ZONE WHILE HE WAS PRESIDENT

OF late there has been a renewed agitation in behalf of a treaty which has been lying dormant since 1914. This treaty provides for making a payment to Colombia of $25,000,000 as indemnity for our having built a canal across the Isthmus of Panama. The motives for bringing this proposal again to the fore are more or less comprehensible, such as that the United States has large commercial interests in Colombia which are being jeopardized; and that if the treaty is not put through by the United States a revolution will ensue in Colombia, although just what bearing an insurrection in Colombia could have on the moral obligations of the United States is not explained.

The principal reason, however, advanced for making such a reparation to Colombia is that the reputation of the United States will otherwise remain impaired among Latin-American nations to the detriment of Pan-Americanism, and the principal charge brought forward to support the contention that the United States has done Colombia an injury is put thus by the editor of a prominent New York daily: "But the fact remains, qualify it as we may, that the United States shared responsibility for the revolution which set up a new state on the Isthmus when Colombia refused to ratify a treaty with the United States," etc.

Secretary of State Colby is reported as having said recently in Buenos Aires that the payment provided for in the treaty "would represent the 'frank and unconcealed efforts of the United States to assuage the feelings of Colombia, toward which the United States entertains the friendliest feelings."

[redacted] ject of giving these various [redacted] nd comments is because [redacted] opinions on the matter [redacted] ople who have interested themselves in the question. Some years ago, when the treaty was first drawn up and brought under discussion in Congress, one of the principal objections made against it was that it contained an apology. The opposition to the apology was so strong that it was eventually deleted and the reparation was left to consist principally of a payment of $25,000,000, the fact being entirely ignored that if we had done Colombia a wrong the very first thing we owed her was an apology, and that the payment of money to her should be put more in the light of our asking her to accept it to make up for a definite material loss she might be considered as having sustained. Merely to hand over a sum of money to a nation which had very forcibly expressed itself as having been wronged (see General Reyes's statement of grievances to Secretary Hay, December 23, 1903) would be nothing more than heaping insult on injury. In view of our often-expressed purpose and desire to foster and build up Pan-American friendship, it can scarcely be supposed that we would wish to insult Colombia by offering her money and withholding an apology if it were due. In other words, in this case the apology is a corollary of the money reparation. Therefore, by direct reasoning, if the apology was not due Colombia, neither was a money payment.

THE QUESTIONS OF RIGHTFUL OWNERSHIP

All the facts in the matter of the Panama Revolution and the acquisition of the Canal Zone are subjects of record, and the whole story can be distinctly and clearly traced, leaving no ground whatsoever for loose and unfounded accusations and their consequent conclusions. In order to come to a true judgment as to whether the United States has done Colombia a wrong, and therefore owes her a financial reparation and

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also an apology, the following three questions must be clearly settled:

1. Was Colombia the rightful owner of the territory through which the Canal has been built at the time the United States acquired the Canal Zone and the right to construct the Canal?

2. If Colombia was not the rightful owner, who was?

3. Did the United States in acquiring the Canal Zone and the right to construct the Canal obtain the same in a legal manner and to the satisfaction of the said rightful owner of the territory?

The answers to the second and third questions hinge directly on the answer to the first; therefore if the first question is answered in the affirmative it will definitely show that the United States has done Colombia a wrong, while if the first question is answered in the negative it will prove that no wrong has been done to Colombia. To answer the first question it will be necessary to show whether the title to the territory rested with Colombia, viewed in the light of the events which occurred and their interpretation by international law and custom.

THE HISTORIC AUTONOMY OF PANAMA

In 1819 the states of Venezuela, Colombia, and Bolivia declared themselves free of the sovereignty of Spain and assumed the title of the Republic of New Granada. At this time the Central American Isthmus still remained under the rule of Spain, and it was not until two years later, in 1821, that the two states comprising this territory, Panama and Veragues, broke away from the Spanish yoke. These two states, after due deliberation, decided to join themselves to the Republic of New Granada, as distinct and self-governing communities of that Republic. This principle of self-government was further recognized in 1855, when the Congress of Bogotá amended the Constitution, defining Panama as an autonomous state under Colombian sovereignty. A treaty between Panama and Colombia (United States of New Granada) was concluded September 6, 1861, by which "Panama joins the Colombian federation, reserving the right to approve or disapprove the compact if it considers the autonomy of the several states as violated, or if the neutrality of the Isthmus guaranteed by the treaty with the United States of 1846 is not recognized in case of international war or domestic troubles."

In 1830 the Republic of New Granada separated into the units of Venezuela, Bolivia, and New Granada. Panama, being directly adjoining the territory of New Granada, remained a part of that state and stayed under its sovereignty when it assumed the present title of the United States of Colombia. Therefore, with the exception of various revolutionary periods during which the federal authority was disputed, Panama had been a part of what is now Colombia from 1821 until the revolution of November 3, 1903. This period was anything but a peaceful one, as is shown by President Roosevelt in his annual Message to Congress of December 7, 1903, in which he states that there is a definite record of fifty-three revolts and revolutions during the course of fifty-seven years. These facts are merely cited to show that Colombia's hold over Panama was weak from the very beginning, and that she was unable to maintain order on the Isthmus; while maintaining order is one of the obligations of sovereignty.

From "Four Centuries of the Panama Canal," by W. F. Johnson. Courtesy of Henry Holt & Co.

FOUNDERS OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA

From left to right, standing: N. A. de Obarrio, Manuel Espinosa B., C. C. Arosemena, Tomas Arias, Ricardo Arias. Seated: J. A. Arango, Manuel Amador Guerrero (the first President of Panama), Federico Boyd

"All the facts in the matter of the Panama Revolution . . . are subjects of record, and the whole story can be distinctly and clearly traced"

THE UNITED STATES' TWO OBLIGATIONS

In 1846 Colombia, then called New Granada, made a treaty with the United States granting her a line of transit across the Isthmus, which line of transit was to be open and free to the citizens of the United States and their goods on the same basis as to the citizens of New Granada.

In return for these privileges, the United States made certain guaranties to New Granada which are given in the Thirty-fifth Article of the treaty, which recites in part: "and in order to secure to themselves the tranquil and constant enjoyment of these advantages, and as an especial compensation for the said advantages, . . . the United States guarantee positively and efficaciously to New Granada by the present stipulation, the perfect neutrality of the beforementioned Isthmus, with the view that the free transit from the one to the other sea may not be interrupted or embarrassed in any future time while this treaty exists, and in consequence, the United States also guarantee in the same manner the right of sovereignty and property which New Granada has and possesses over the said territory."

Thus it will be seen that by the Treaty of 1846 the United States solemnly binds itself to two very important obligations: first, to guarantee the "perfect neutrality" of the line of transit over the Isthmus; second, to guarantee to New Granada "the right of sovereignty and property" in the said territory.

THE OBLIGATION TO PROTECT AGAINST—NOT INSURRECTION—BUT OUTSIDE AGGRESSION

Let us examine how these two obligations have been construed in the light of diplomatic intercourse between the United States and Colombia. We will start with the second obligation, calling or a guaranty of Colombia's sovereignty, as an understanding was early reached on its significance. Secretary of State Seward defined it to the effect that "the purpose of the stipulation was to guarantee the Isthmus against seizure or invasion by a foreign Power only."

On September 14, 1866, the Colombian Minister of Foreign Affairs at Bogota states in a note to the Minister of the United States his understanding "that the United States will act to preserve such sovereignty only when there is danger of transfer of such sovereignty to a foreign Power, but not when the disturbances are confined to citizens of the Republic."

This understanding is further defined by Secretary of State Hay in his note to General Reyes dated January 5, 1904: "The guaranty by the United States of the neutrality of the Isthmus and of the sovereignty and property of New Granada thereover was given for the conservation of precisely this p[illegible] . . . To this end the Un[illegible] undertook to protect t[illegible] of the Isthmus from[illegible]

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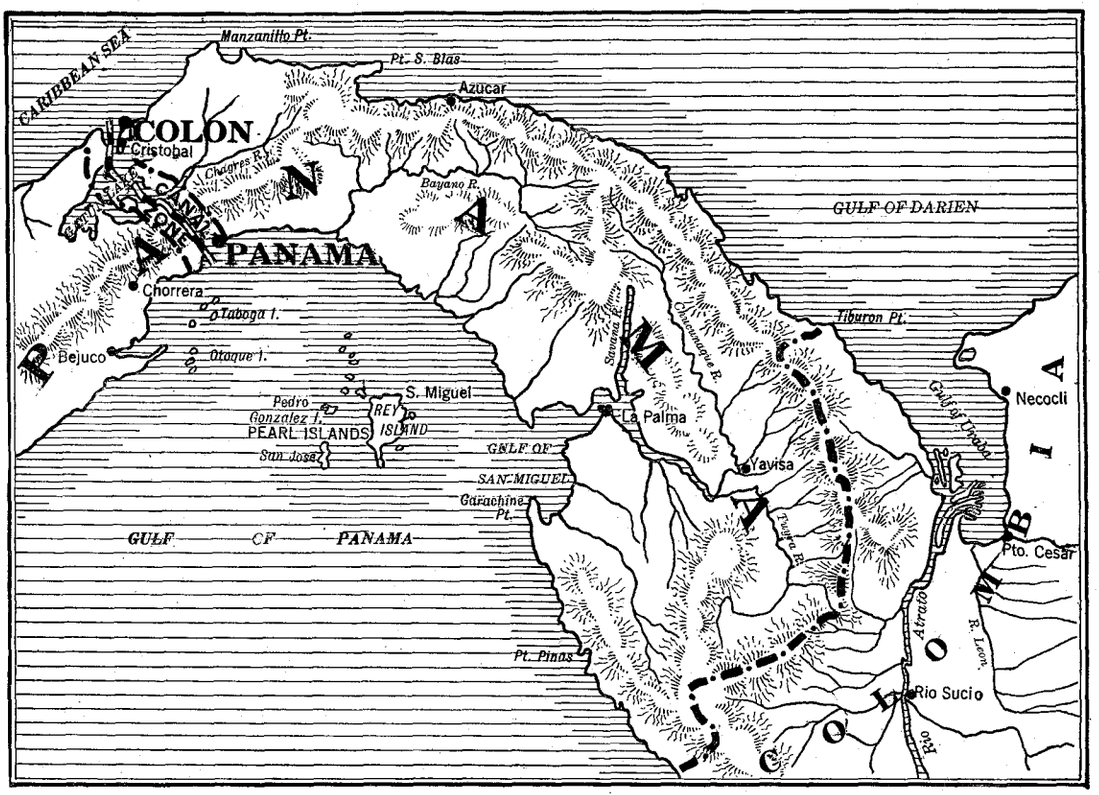

PART OF THE REPUBLIC OF PANAMA, SHOWING ITS RELATION TO THE CANAL AND TO COLOMBIA

Panama broke from Spain independently of Colombia, and afterwards when it joined itself to Colombia reserved the right to disapprove the compact if the guaranteed neutrality of the Isthmus was not recognized in case of either international war or domestic troubles

eign Powers. . . . The theory on which the 'statement of grievances' proceeds, that the treaty obliged the Government of the United States to protect the Government of New Granada against domestic insurrection or its consequences, finds no support in the record, and is in its nature inadmissible."

Thus we see that the intent of this second obligation was clearly to take effect only as a part of the policy of the Monroe Doctrine in protecting Colombian territory from outside aggression.

THE OBLIGATION TO KEEP TRANSIT UNDISTURBED

We pass now to the first obligation under the Treaty of 1846, that of maintaining the neutrality of the line of transit across the Isthmus. President Roosevelt in his annual Message to Congress of December 7, 1903, said: "In 1856, 1869, 1873, 1885, 1901, and 1902 sailors and marines from United States warships were forced to land in order to protect life and property and to see that the transit across the Isthmus was kept open. In 1861, 1862, 1885, and 1900 the Colombian Government asked for the landing of troops by the United States Government to protect its interests and maintain order on the Isthmus." The traditional policy of the United States since the coming into force of the Treaty of 1846 has been the guaranteeing of the strict neutrality of the line of transit across the Isthmus. Nothing more clearly defines this policy than the telegraphic instructions from Secretary of [illegible]oody to the U. S. S. Ranger, [illegible]r 12, 1902: "United States [illegible] neutrality of Isthmus and that transit from sea to sea be not interrupted or embarrassed. Any transportation of troops which might contravene these provisions of treaty should not be sanctioned by you, nor should use of road be permitted which might convert the line of transit into a theater of hostility."

On November 2, 1903, when it was evident that an outbreak was coming, and, in fact, as was proved later, the very day before the revolution took place, instructions were sent to the U. S. S. Nashville, Boston, and Dixie, then in Southern waters, which read in part: 'Maintain free and uninterrupted transit. If interruption is threatened by armed force, occupy the line of the railroad. Prevent landing of any armed force, either Government or insurgent, within fifty miles of Panama. Government force reported approaching Isthmus in vessels. Prevent their landing if, in your judgment, the landing would precipitate a conflict."

THE UNITED STATES OBSERVED THESE OBLIGATIONS EXACTLY

We thus see how the two obligations of the United States under the Treaty of 1846 were defined by diplomatic correspondence and Governmental action. When on November 3, 1903, forty sailors and marines were landed from the U. S. S. Nashville at Colon, for the purpose of protecting the lives of the American inhabitants which had been threatened by the commander of over four hundred Colombian Government troops and for the purpose of maintaining the neutrality of the line of transit, the United States was simply acting in accordance with its first obligation under the Treaty of 1846.

The events which occurred from November 2, 1903, until November 4, the day when the Republic of Panama was declared an accomplished fact, have been completely reported by Commander Hubbard, of the U. S. S. Nashville. This report shows beyond a shadow of a doubt that the United States maintained a strictly correct attitude in compliance with her treaty obligations. No troops of either side were permitted to be transported by the Panama Railroad, although the revolutionists in Panama City, having good reason to believe that the Government troops in Colon would take sides with them, as had those in Panama City, requested the American authorities to permit these troops to be transported across the Isthmus.

Thus in refusing to allow the Colombian troops at Colon to join the revolutionists in Panama the United States was in effect hampering the latter party. The commander of the Government forces, apparently realizing the danger of defection among his troops, embarked them on a passenger vessel and set sail on November 5, 1903, for Cartagena. This left the Isthmus entirely unoccupied by Government forces, as of the three warships in the harbor of Panama City two had gone over to the side of the revolutionary government, while the other, after demonstrating a hostile attitude, had been driven away by gunfire from the shore batteries, and never returned.

COLOMBIA UNABLE TO ASSERT SOVEREIGNTY

Two points should be particularly noted here: first, that the Colombian

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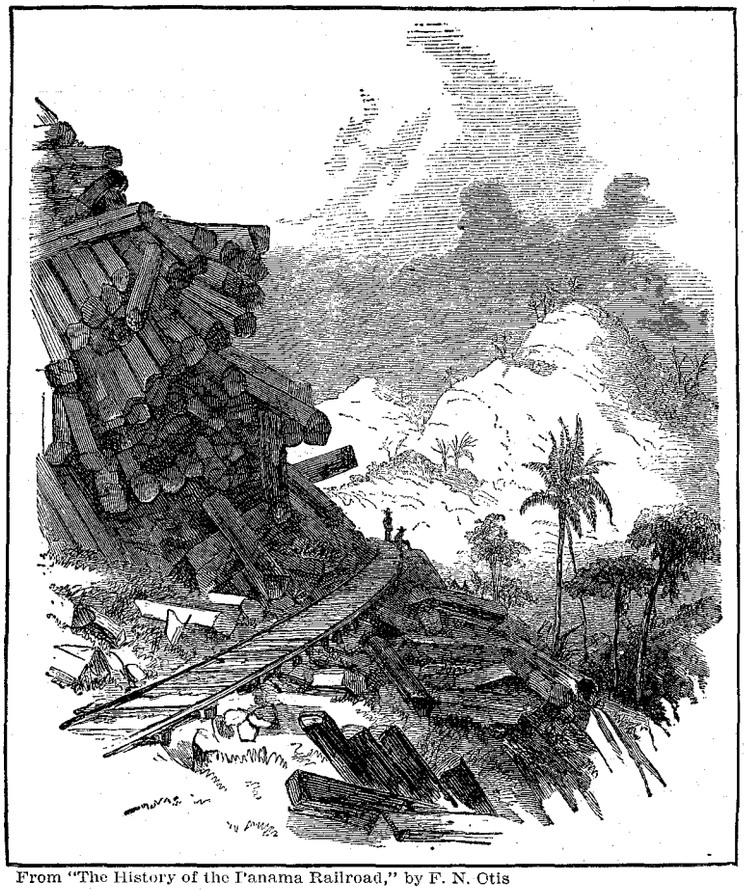

A SECTION OF THE PANAMA RAILWAY

This railway necessitating expense of double transshipment was the best means of transit for international trade across the Isthmus before the Canal was completed

From "The History of the Panama Railroad," by F. N. Otis

Government forces withdrew from the Isthmus of their own free will, and under no duress by the United States forces, who were outnumbered ten to one; second, that, although the United States was obligated by its responsibility under the Treaty of 1846 to maintain the neutrality of the line of transit, and therefore prevent any disorder within the vicinity of this line, it did not attempt a show of force on any other part of the Isthmus, notwithstanding which the Government of Colombia made no attempt to subjugate any other part of this extensive territory. From these two facts only one logical deduction can be made, and that is, that the Colombian Government found itself too weak to support the vantage-points it already held on the Isthmus and dared not take the offensive even where it was unopposed.

That this view accurately gauges the facts in the case is definitely proved by the subsequent action of the Bogota Government, which immediately after the revolution by which Panama obtained its independence made another request of the United States to land troops to preserve Colombian sovereignty. This request was made through General Reyes, afterward President of the Republic. President Marroquin (the then President), in making the request, offered, if we would grant it, "to approve by decree" the ratification of the Hay-Herran Treaty as signed, acting thus "by virtue of vested constitutional authority," or, if the Government of the United States preferred, to call an extra session of Congress, "with new and friendly members to approve the treaty."

These facts were brought out by President Roosevelt in his annual Message to Congress of December 7, 1903. This request is not only an admission on the part of the Colombian Government that all along she had within her power the means to ratify the treaty, but in view of the fact that the request was sent on November 6, 1903, the day after the voluntary withdrawal of the Colombian forces, is also a positive confession of her inability to regain her sovereignty through her own exertion.

INTERNATIONAL LAW ON RECOGNITION OF NEW STATES

The recognition of a new state is a matter of national policy. This policy, however, has been guided more or less by circumstances and the principles enunciated by leading authorities on international law.

Oppenheim says: "The granting or the denial of recognition is not a matter of international law but of international policy. . . . Since, however, the granting of recognition is a matter of policy, and not of law, nothing prevents an old state from making the recognition of a new state dependent upon the latter fulfilling certain conditions. . . .

"In spite of the importance of the question, no hard and fast rule can be laid down as regards the time when it can be said that a state created by revolution has established itself safely and permanently. The characteristic of such safe and permanent establishment may be found either in the fact that the revolutionary state has u
the mother state, or th
state has ceased to mak
due . . . or even that
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the revolutionary state
sway."

On the same subject Wheaton s down the principle that "when a sovereign state, from exhaustion or any other cause, has virtually and substantially abandoned the struggle for supremacy, it has no right to complain if a foreign state treat the independence of its former subjects as *de facto* established."

THE COURSE OF THE UNITED STATES IS SANCTIONED

That the action of the United States received general approval among the great nations of the world and many of the lesser ones is demonstrated in Mr. Hay's note of January 5, 1904, to General Reyes, when he states that the following nations had already recognized the Republic of Panama: France, China, Austria-Hungary, Germany, Denmark, Russia, Sweden and Norway, Belgium, Nicaragua, Peru, Cuba, Great Britain, Italy, and Japan. It is interesting to note that three of these early recognizers of the new American state were Latin-American countries.

When in 1836 Texas won her freedom from Mexico and was later recognized by the United States, the same charges of having instigated the revolt were made against President Jackson as were later made against President Roosevelt in the recognizing of Panama. Von Holst, in his "Constitutional and Political History of the United States," wrote with regard to the recognition of Texas: "It has been objected that at this time it was not yet certain that Texas would be able to perform the duties of an independent state, but the same was true of the United States in 1778 and of the Spanish-American republics when we recognized them, and evidently must often be true in such cases." Does any one to-day think that France should make reparation to Great Britain for having recognized the United States, or that we should make reparation to Spain for having been the first country to recognize the independence of the Latin-American republics, or to Mexico for having recognized Texas after that state had captured the Mexican President and thus gained its freedom?

GENERAL INTEREST VERSUS SPECIAL INTEREST

We have thus established on the grounds of international usage and precedent as practiced by the so-called Society of Nations and by its treaty obligations the correctness in attitude and action of the United States in recognizing the new Republic of Panama.

This position is supplemented by a principle in national and international relations which by itself would be sufficient to substantiate the justice of our Government's action with regard to Panama; the great principle [illegible] that the good of the m[illegible] that of the individual

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which is founded the doctrine of eminent domain in our National and municipal laws.

This doctrine was ably expounded by Secretary of State Cass when he said in 1858, in speaking of the Central American countries: "Even if administered with more regard to the just demands of other nations than they have been, [they] would not be permitted in a spirit of Eastern isolation to close the gates of intercourse on the great highways of the world."

THE RIGHTFUL OWNER

Thus when the Hay-Bunau-Varilla Treaty, signed November 16, 1903, and ratified February 26, 1904, gave the United States the right to acquire the Canal Zone and to construct a canal through it, the owner of the territory in which these rights were given was not Colombia, but the Republic of Panama.

The fact that Panama was satisfied and that the bargain made was legal is witnessed by her prompt ratification of the treaty.

Our three questions have been answered. And by the answers the question as to whether we have done Colombia a wrong, and consequently owe her a money reparation and an apology, has in turn been clearly answered in the negative.

IS FRIENDSHIP FOR SALE?

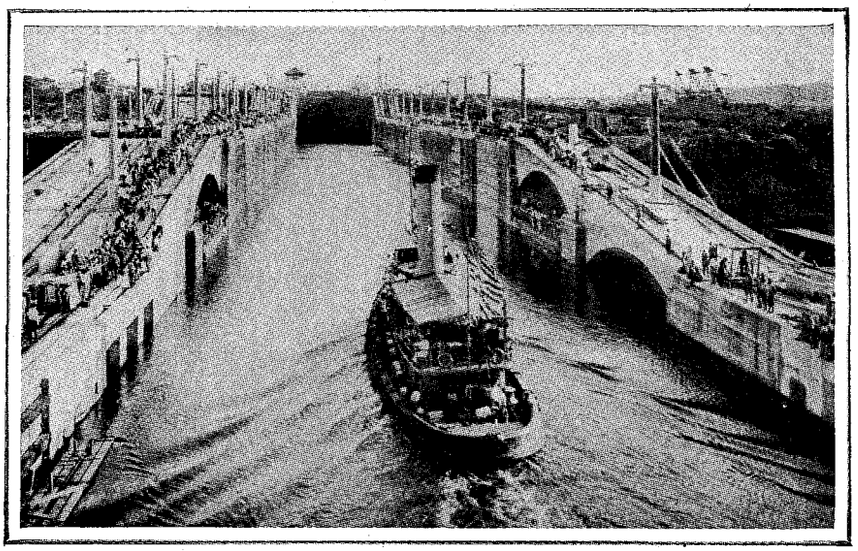
With regard to the definitive settlement of the Panama matter, another side of the question might be expressed as follows: Although the United States has done Colombia no wrong, and consequently owes her no apology, would a payment of money made to her in recompense for a loss due entirely to her own actions increase true friendship between the United States and Colombia and between the United States and all other Latin-American states?

True friendship between nations might be defined as a feeling of confidence and respect, which engenders a spirit of international co-operation.

History affords us a clear record of the actions of Colombia in refusing to ratify the treaty which she had agreed to through her accredited representative, Mr. Herran.

Although the reason given by the Colombian Senate for its refusal to ratify the treaty was because it was felt that Colombia would thereby lose sovereignty over a narrow strip of territory across the Isthmus, the real reason is known to be that she decided she wanted more money than the Hay-Herran Treaty allowed her. This has been definitely proved by the course she took when it was apparent that the United States would not accede to an amendment of the treaty.

The next best thing that suggested itself was to attack the French New [illegible]ma Canal Company, which had [illegible] signified its willingness to sell [illegible]d States its rights and prop[illegible]thmus for a certain sum.



From "The Panama Canal," by F. J. Haskin. Courtesy Doubleday, Page & Co.

THE FIRST BOAT GOING THROUGH THE GATUN LOCKS

This tugboat marked the opening of the first direct route westward from Europe to the Far East, which had been the dream of navigators and merchants from before the days of Columbus, and was made possible in spite of the obstructive tactics of Colombia

The resident agent of the company in Bogota was informed on June 10, 1903, that it would be necessary to pay Colombia $10,000,000, otherwise the treaty would not be ratified, the Canal would not be built, and the holdings of the company would consequently not be bought by the United States.

The New Panama Canal Company with praiseworthy spirit refused to give in to this demand, whereupon a report was submitted, October 14, 1903, to the Colombian Senate suggesting the cancellation of the last extension of time which had been granted, April 26, 1900, to the New Panama Canal Company under the Wyse Concession, and for which the company had paid Colombia a bonus of 50,000 shares of stock valued at $1,000,000.

This would have the effect of causing the company's rights to lapse the following year, at which time they, together with all property owned on the Isthmus by the company, would automatically revert to Colombia. This country would then be in a stronger position to bargain with the United States and could expect to obtain the sum of $40,000,000 which was to have been paid by the United States to the New Panama Canal Company together with the sum named in the Hay-Herran Treaty.

The conclusive proof that Colombia's purpose in withholding ratification was to get a higher price is brought to light in her offer to the United States immediately after the declaration of independence by Panama to ratify the treaty, as it showed beyond a shadow of question that the Colombian administration had had it always within its power to effect ratification.

Certainly this record does not give Colombia the title of having acted according to true friendship in the light of the definition given. On the other hand, it can be said with equal force as regards the United States that confidence and respect could hardly be felt for it if, having the strength to defend itself, it supinely gave in to another nation when that other nation refused to live up to its agreement simply because it felt it could obtain more money by not doing so.

A SOP OF DISHONOR

The principle of obliging individuals to abide by their agreements is upheld within our country by the contract laws of the different States. This principle in this case is upheld with forceful lucidity by President Wilson when, in replying to an attack made by Colonel Roosevelt on the Administration bill proposing a payment of $25,000,000 to Colombia, he said: "I would be ashamed of this flag if it ever did anything outside of America that we would not permit it to do inside America."

The record clearly shows that the United States has steadfastly abided by its international agreements, while it equally shows that Colombia wished neither to abide by her agreement with the United States under the Hay-Herran Treaty nor to abide by her agreement with the New Panama Canal Company.

The opinions of the Latin-American nations on the justice of the position maintained by the United States was shown in their early recognition of Panama as an independent state.

Bearing all these facts in mind, the only just conclusion that can be arrived at is: That it would be a dishonor to the United States under the circumstances for it to offer a sum of money to Colombia as a sop to her feelings, that it would be dishonorable of Colombia to accept it, and that such action would endanger to both nations the respect and confidence, not only of the Pan-American nations, but of all the civilized nations of the world.

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OUR MOTHER'S PASSION

"She smiled when a Sabbath appear'd."—Cowper

BY JEAN CARTER COCHRAN

AUTHOR OF "FOREIGN MAGIC," "OLD JOHN," "NEIGHBORS," AND OTHER STORIES

CERTAIN good people go to church from a sense of duty; others, a little less worthy, perhaps, go from habit; but the elect go because they love it. Our mother belongs to this last class, which I am sure I can prove without much difficulty.

It is as well to explain that I speak advisedly when I say "our" mother, rather than "my" mother, for there are five of us, and we have been brought up with such a fine impartiality that it would be arrogance on my part to insinuate for a moment that the other four did not have an equal part in her. We are fortunate in being so united that we share our possessions, our friends, our relatives, and our memories in common. While this necessary explanation was being made our mother has been left—in slang parlance—at the church.

It would be an interesting study to determine whether our mother's passion for church-going is the result of heredity, environment, training, or an innate love of spiritual things. I am inclined to think that all these influences enter in, for in reading our family tree I find that in the seventeenth century certain of our ancestors were hunted over the hills of Scotland as Covenanters; that, being hard pressed by the followers of Claverhouse, our great-great-great-great-great-grandparents took refuge in a marsh where the water reached to their necks, while a kindly bush protected their heads from sight.

"I am going to scream," huskily whispered our great-great-great-great-great-grandmother.

"If you do, I will choke you," firmly, if not gallantly, replied our great-great-great-great-great-grandfather, and, as it was before the days of woman's suffrage, she instantly held her peace.

The blood of such ancestors—who sacrificed so much for the sake of going to church—coursing through our mother's veins must surely have been one element in developing our mother's character. As for environment and training, her father and his two brothers were all elders in the old Scotch Church; thirteen members of the family had pews in the same church; one attended regularly or was asked the reason why. Lastly, at that period church-going was considered a privilege, not a burden. Modern thought lays stress on the power of mental suggestion particularly in the training of children; our grandparents used it, emphasizing it sometimes with the point of a slipper.

I would not perjure myself by affirming that at the early age when our mother was first conducted to church she sat entranced by the firstly, secondly, thirdly, fourthly, and finally, my beloved brethren, of the eloquent Scotch theologian in the pulpit. Like the taste for olives, love for church grew with the sampling. Our mother now confesses that her attention often wandered, so, to pass the weary moments, she named the family who sat in front of her Mr. and Mrs. Sippi and Miss Ourri; this game became so real that in after years she learned with surprise that they had some quite ordinary name, like Smith or Brown, and she was proportionately disappointed.

Brought up in the midst of such surroundings, what was more natural than that she should marry a minister? No mere man could resist the subtle charm of such a listener, who was wont to say with David, "I was glad when they said unto me, Let us go unto the house of the Lord." For fifteen happy years our mother lived under the shadow of the church on the hilltop, and only illness or the care of a young baby kept her from regular attendance there. In those days church-going became a duty, a habit, and a pleasure, so that instinctively she felt for her hat-pins at the first peal of the church bell.

When the home in our village was broken up and our mother was forced to go out and meet the world with her fatherless children, one great principle was adhered to in our training: illness was the only excuse that was allowed to keep us from church. No matter where we were—in Europe, Asia, Africa, or the islands of the sea—to church we went, and if any recreant sea captain failed to read the morning service on one Sunday he did it the next, and did it willingly. I would not for a moment infer that our mother is one of those managing women who fifteen minutes after they enter a hospital or ocean liner attempt to show those who are in charge how it should be run. Hers is a timid, retiring nature, but when one of her principles is involved she becomes as bold as a lion and her manner of asking is so pleasing, so convincing, that her desire is quickly accomplished.

Thanks to her habit of church-going, our mother has given to us a store of recollections that the large majority of travelers never gather. Who that has attended the military service at St. Giles's Cathedral in Edinburgh, or heard the even-song at Canterbury in the twilight, when the arches spring upward into the darkness and the organ rolls forth its great chords, or seen a mass held in Notre Dame with its incense and its candles, or wended his way through the meadows blue with forget-me-nots to the little church at Chamonix under the shadow of the snow-crowned monarch, or sought out the primitive church at Athens which looks upward to the Acropolis, can ever forget it? If these associations are pleasant, what about the more sacred ones in the Holy Land when on the shores of the Sea of Galilee a little handful of Christians turn their thoughts backward to the first perfect sermon preached to waiting expectant crowds? What a contrast in India to go down to the Ganges and see the burning ghats, the bathing lepers, the pilgrims drinking beside them, the filthy mire of the Golden Temple, and then to attend the orderly, dignified service held in the English Church; in China to brush against the ragged, dirty mobs that crowd the narrow street and be ushered into a clean although plain building, where the very expression of the worshipers seems to set them apart from the throng outside; or in Japan to sit on the hard benches that serve as pews and listen to the roar of the river as it rushes past the statues of the hundred Buddhas or the music of the bells as they boom forth from the temple court near by, and then hear the voice of the clergyman repeat, "Be still and know that I am God." Yes, thanks to our mother, we have many beautiful memories.

All this is true, but it does not prove the point that our mother goes to church because she loves it, and not from habit or a sense of duty. I must turn to still another rustic church to do that.

Years ago we were accustomed to spend our summers at an attractive mountain village in New England. We stayed at a farmhouse situated on a gem of a lake surrounded by lovely wooded hills. The village where the tiny church stood lay on the far side of the lake and could be reached most directly by a boat or more circuitously by a pretty road that bordered the water. Our mother held, as always, to the belief that it was right to attend not only church but Sunday school, for she felt in this way we could encourage the efforts of our country friends, who were having a hard struggle to keep up the services.

On the last Sunday of our stay, one matchless autumn day when the foliage was at its height and all nature lured one into the open, our brother dutifully asked our mother if he could take her to church in the canoe. She jumped at the chance and, arrayed in her best, walked down to the wharf, where our brother was waiting in his canoe. No one ever knew exactly how it happened, but as our mother stepped on board the canoe slipped aside and she sat down quickly, not in the canoe, but in the chilly water. Fortunately, it was not deep, and she was able to walk to shore, but in such a state that it was im[illegible] sible for her to proceed. Aft[illegible] that she was safe, our br[illegible] absolutely sure in his [illegible] ardor for church was [illegible]

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ened for one day, paddled gayly off in order not to be late. At the church door he explained what had happened, and we filed in, certain in our minds that the incident was closed. But it was not, oh dear, no! Just before the sermon there was a stir in the back of the church, a well-known step was heard coming up the aisle, and before our astonished eyes our mother walked into the pew. She had changed her raiment from head to foot and then, late as it was, walked the distance around by the lake. If ever any woman had an excuse for staying home from church, our mother had that day. When she did not avail herself of it, we were finally and forever convinced that she went to church because she loved it.

The day had a fitting climax, as some days do.

"I am going to put a five-dollar bill in the collection," our mother announced to us before Sunday school. "I feel that they are a struggling, worthy people and they need encouragement." Our mother sometimes found it necessary to announce moves like this in advance, for her hilarious offspring, if taken unawares, were apt to nudge each other or cough or otherwise draw undesirable attention to the modest lady's deeds of charity.

All went well; but when the collection was taken up I, for one, could not forbear watching what happened. After the bill had been placed in as inconspicuous a place as could be found on a very bare plate, the usher proceeded up the aisle, and in each class where he stopped there was a pause and then a stir. When the time arrived for the counting of the offering, I saw the heads of the treasurer, secretary, and superintendent close together in earnest conversation. At length the moment came to announce the amount.

"The collection to-day is five dollars and sixteen cents," proclaimed the superintendent in a ringing voice.

"P-H-E-W-!" came in a long low whistle of surprise from the entire infant class.

"I think it would be a desirable thing to give a vote of thanks to our city visitors who have helped us so much this summer," he continued.

The vote was taken, all hands going up except, of course, those of the blushing summer visitors.

"The vote is almost unanimous," the worthy superintendent announced.

I do not know what happened after that or how we got down the aisle or out of the church without disgracing ourselves. It required more self-control than we have used before or since, but when we reached the quiet wood road, free from hearers of our unholy mirth, the forests rang. Throughout the day whenever our laughter had subsided for a few moments all one had to do to bring it on again was to murmur quietly, "The vote was almost unanimous."

In reviewing our mother's passion what has impressed me most is the fact that it has increased with her years. She might allow her children to remain at home on the plea of ill health, but never herself; and it has required threats, entreaties, and sometimes even tears to keep her from church when she ought to have been in bed.

This last summer has given a forceful illustration of this fact. One July Sunday she dressed early for church, as is her wont, and, looking very sweet in her gray dimity, she sallied forth with her granddaughter as her companion. At the top of the porch steps her foot slipped and she fell headlong, hanging there head downwards until she was rescued by the frightened household. They helped her up and placed her in a chair, sending a messenger for her son, who is a surgeon, to come at once. He was there almost on the instant, and found her an alarming spectacle. A large bruise was fast closing one eye, the blood streamed down her face from a cut on the nose that had gone through to the bone, and her arm was also cut and bruised almost to the bone. Not a groan did she utter while her wounds were being dressed, but when she pulled herself together she looked anxiously up into her son's face.

"You will let me go to church, will you not?" she pleaded.

"You wouldn't want to go, mother, if you could see yourself," was the reply. When she had looked into a mirror, she didn't.

"Your mother is a good sport," is how our brother-in-law, in his terse British way, summed up the situation.

Yes, she is that, and a great many other things as well. She is the haven of refuge for all who are in distress; no one ever comes to her for comfort and turns way unsatisfied. I do not want to be pedantic nor a dry moralist of the ancient order, and yet there is something in me that somehow knows that the strength and encouragement that my mother gives so freely to others she gets herself in the quiet hours spent in church, where she so dearly loves to go; and I am sure that William James himself—if he could be consulted—would concur in this opinion.

HIDE YOUR B.A.

BY EDITH DANA WEIGLE

I HAD heard a good deal about the world's contempt for the young college graduate, but not until I was actually hunting my first position did I see the picture clearly and in focus. I even smiled as I walked down C—— Street at a cover of the "Saturday Evening Post" depicting a terribly young, slender boy wearing a cap and gown and a supercilious expression as he placed one possessive hand on a globe of the world beside him, and the other on his hip.

"All mine," he seemed to be saying. But I smiled simply because the picture was so untrue that it was funny. "Surely people don't think that because we have spent four years training our minds and earning our degrees we are therefore conquerors of the world, in our own estimation," I thought. But I was soon to learn.

And, oddly enough, the first place to [illegible]ow me was an employment office for [illegible]women. Here advice was given [illegible] clever white-haired, young-[illegible]ne by a very [illegible]eyed woman. And the gist of the advice was simply that I would find it difficult to get a job in the business world if I said anything about my B.A. I was to try, first of all, to sell my services; last of all to mention the fact of my four years' study in college. I was told the story, which I had heard many times before, of the antagonism aroused by the young person who thinks he knows it all, who wants to begin at the top, who is overconfident and bold and tactless because of his degree. This person always had interested me, because I had never met him. I have *not* met him to this day. Where is he?

I accepted the advice and acted accordingly. Never a bold, brazen pirate in any case, as an observer with half an eye could see, I now concealed my B.A. as though it were a bomb. And after I had had a few conversations with business men and employers I concealed it as though it were two bombs! A convict couldn't have kept his four years in Sing Sing in the shadow of silence any more than I hid my four years in college. And I got my job.

Leaning back in his swivel chair, Mr. Jones surveyed me. The deal had been closed. I was to report on Monday. Gripping my courage to the sticking point, I said: "Mr. Jones, there is one thing I ought to tell you."

"What is it?"

I dropped the bomb. "I am a college graduate."

He frowned and asked me to be seated once more.

"I would like to tell you a little story," he began. "It may be useful to you. I knew a young fellow once. Just out of college. Thought he knew about all there was to know. Looked around to select the profession he would honor by his toil, and finally chose the lumber business because he knew a man in it who was making millions. He went to this man and told him he'd consider taking a job in his plant. Told him all his qualifications, saving his greatest attraction for the last. Said, 'Besides all this I am a college graduate. I've just finished R——.' The lumberman was silent for some time. Then he said: 'I'll hire you, anyway, my boy. You may

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live it down.' Now," Mr. Jones's piercing blue eyes met me, "you can take that for what it's worth."

"Mr. Jones," I said, "are there any college people in your employ at present?"

"Why—yes."

"How many?"

"Five."

"What sort of work do they do?"

"They do the most intelligent work in the office. Two of them are the heads of departments. All are women. Oh, I have nothing to say against a college education. Nothing at all."

Then why didn't he tell me the story of those women instead of the hackneyed tale of the overconfident boy?

I began to realize that the world believed in that "Saturday Evening Post" cover, after all.

Another case in point is that of a girl who told me that she was going to try newspaper work in New York.

"But I sha'n't mention my B.A.," she said; "I know enough to keep it hidden."

Is it too much to ask the business man to forget the old bogy of the know-it-all young graduate, and to give the present-day eager, rather humble, young person a chance? Don't put us all in one class and condemn us unheard. We are really not such a bad lot, after all. You yourself admit that we render you invaluable service after we are once started. Please give us a chance!

LULLABY

BY ELIZABETH BERTRON FAHNESTOCK

HUSH, little heart of me,
  Cradled so far;
Heaven is dark to-night—
  I'll set a window light
Here, for your star.

Sleep, little heart of me,
  Under the rain.
God, while my candles glow,
  That little dream you know—
Grant it again!

THE TURBULENT ISLE

FURTHER CORRESPONDENCE FROM IRELAND[1]

BY HAROLD E. SCARBOROUGH

IN Ireland it is war, with all the redeeming features left out. It is a sordid and dirty business of butchery, made worse because it is a struggle between an army and a quasi-civilian population wherein women and children and innocent men suffer along with the combatants.

I

Officers who have seen service in twenty years' warfare have told me that never had they engaged in so distasteful a task as that of Irish service. This feeling is epitomized by an interview with General Strickland, Military Commander of Cork, which was printed in the Manchester "Guardian" of January 21, and of which this is the conclusion:

> He wanted peace in Ireland, he said, as much as any republican, and he described the work on which his division is at present engaged as the most unpleasant that a soldier could be called upon to perform.

The military in Ireland is rated as being on active service. Yet there is not, as there is in war, an actual dividing line between the combatant parties. One can point out no line of trenches and say: "Beyond that line are enemies; on this side are friends." Every one's neighbor becomes a potential friend or foe; and both sides are continually increasing the number and efficiency of their spies. The Government has been building its intelligence system from the ground up. It is a good one, and it is getting better. Sinn Fein's Secret Service is one of its greatest achievements. It is doubtful if a better intelligence organization exists in the world to-day. With half its leaders jailed, in exile, or in hiding; with a hundred thousand armed Britishers in the country; with the cordon of military repression daily being tightened, Sinn Fein nevertheless knows just about everything that is going on in Ireland to-day. It has the inestimable advantage of terrain; it knows the country, its agents are among friends almost every time they choose to slip into a house. And they are moved by fanatical devotion to a cause.

One is careful what one says in Ireland. One does not write frank letters; both Sinn Fein and the Government occasionally tamper with the mails.

With all this builded on the natural friction between an army of occupation and a civilian population, with both English and Irish fighting fair sometimes and sometimes fighting foul, with no man's life and property safe from day to day, there is little wonder that conscientious officers do not like their task.

International

MEMBERS OF THE ROYAL IRISH CONSTABULARY AUXILIARY DIVISION

"There was created the Auxiliary Division, composed entirely of ex-officers, and drawing £1 a day each—far more than the Constabulary or the military"

II

It appears to an onlooker that if the new Royal Irish Constabulary and the Auxiliary Division were better disciplined the Irish war might be kept on a better plane. The old Royal Irish Constabulary was a force somewhat analogous to the Pennsylvania State

[1] That the English public is not interested in Ireland, that British methods in Ireland are not typically British, that experiences in Ireland tend to make everybody's nerves taut, and that many things happening in Ireland which cannot be extenuated can be explained were some of the conclusions Mr. Scarborough reached from his observations reported in his correspondence printed last week under the title "The Most Distressful Country."—The Editors.

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Constabulary. It was composed largely of Irishmen who knew their people and, on the whole, behaved themselves well.

Go back for a moment to the 1916 rising—something of which the majority of Irishmen now speak with a curious mixture of regret and defiance. After that abortive movement, which never had a chance of success and which was rushed to a climax by a handful of extremists, executions followed. Many Irish now realize that Britain was engaged in a life-and-death struggle; that it was not playing the game to stab her in the back, nor to ally themselves with Germany. There are others who to-day assert that any weapon is justifiable against the "English oppressor."

But, at any rate, the bitterness engendered by the rebellion seemed superficially glossed over when there came the election of December, 1918, in which Sinn Fein, although it polled some 20,000 less votes than its combined Unionist and Nationalist competitors, nevertheless swept the south of Ireland.

Following the Dail Eireann (the name of the Sinn Fein Parliament is pronounced "Doyle Erin") proclamation of the republic, there was an attempt to take over the administrative functions of the island. Some members of the old R. I. C. resisted the effort; the word was spread that they were giving information causing the arrest of persons suspected of complicity in the 1916 affair at Easter week, and finally direct attempts to disarm them and render them helpless were begun. Soldiers likewise were stopped and relieved of their arms, and on September 7, 1919, a soldier was killed in one such encounter. This was the first casualty suffered by the occupying forces since the 1916 rebellion. The first R. I. C. casualty was some months later—January 20, 1920—when a constable was fired at and wounded. The town of Thurles was looted that same night.

If any one asks, "Who started it?" with reference to Ireland, he must go back into the mists of antiquity for his answer; back to the time when the first Celt swatted the first Briton with the first blackthorn, or when the first Briton decided to settle in Ireland in opposition to the wishes of the local population. I am inclined, however, to date the present phase of disorder from the killing of that soldier at Fermoy.

Sporadic retaliation (including the sack of Fermoy on September 8) and counter-retaliation followed, until in the summer of 1920 the greater part of the old R. I. C. had resigned, leaving Sinn Fein virtually in complete control of the country from Dublin southwards. Then began the recruiting of the new R. I. C. from England, Scotland, Wales, and other points. (I met a man from Bisbee, Arizona, in it at Tralee.) There was created the Auxiliary Division, composed entirely of ex-officers, and drawing a pound a day each—far more than the regulary or the military. Then, late in the spring of 1920, the round of killings by police and reprisals (meaning the burning of several houses or the shooting of a few civilians) began in earnest. Armed forces poured into Ireland on one hand, and fresh recruits joined the I. R. A. on the other.

THREE MEMBERS OF SINN FEIN —COUNT PLUNKETT, JOSEPH M'DONAGH, WHOSE BROTHER HAS BEEN EXECUTED, AND SEAN MILROY, WHO ESCAPED FROM PRISON WITH DE VALERA

"Sinn Fein's greatest achievement is . . . that it has oriented the Irish people into thinking of themselves in terms of a separate entity"

Keystone

Sinn Fein was driven underground only to become more dangerous. Meanwhile more and more innocent citizens were drawn into the millstones.

III

And Sinn Fein (pronounced, of course, "Shinn Fayne") is one of the real puzzles of Ireland to-day. In its essence Sinn Fein is a small body of idealists ready to wage war by fair means or foul upon the enemies of republican Ireland —which of course it translates as the British Empire. In its broader sense it is a name for a movement which is vastly popular among the people of southern Ireland.

Aside from the inner circles—the Dail Eireann Cabinet and a few other men—there is no mystery about the Sinn Feiners. The activists are young men imbued by an almost fanatical determination to win freedom for their country. They are totally fearless. There is not a doubt in the world but that they would storm Dublin Castle itself if they thought that there were anything to be gained from such an undertaking.

Sinn Fein's greatest achievement is not that it successfully took over the administration of a large part of southern Ireland during the summer of 1920; nor that it has disposed of some six hundred British officials by almost any means conveniently at hand. It is, as recognized in an editorial in the London "Times" of January 22, that it has oriented the Irish people into thinking of themselves in terms of a separate entity. Consider the response to the proclamation of martial law in Counties Cork, Kerry, Limerick, and Tipperary early in December, 1920. Possession of arms after that date rendered an Irishman in the martial-law areas liable to the death penalty. Harboring rebels was an offense punishable with death. A mother who gave a bowl of bread and milk to her own son who might be "on the run" rendered herself liable to execution. Yet since the martial-law proclamation southern Ireland has been more troubled than ever, and Sinn Fein activity has doubled in intensity. Practically no arms have been surrendered and members of the I. R. A. still find asylum and shelter. Only the support of a united people could account for such tenacity. The southern Nationalist does not favor Sinn Fein politically; but, above all, he is an Irishman. When the issue is forced—as it has been forced —he casts his lot with Sinn Fein rather than with England.

IV

Present-day Ireland is not a country over which the casual visitor is likely to wax sentimental. For one thing, there is only one passably comfortable hotel in the country (so far as one may safely generalize from a knowledge of hostelries in every city of any size in Ireland), and that is in Dublin. The machinery of transit and communication creaks and wheezes. There are a very few taxis to be found in the larger cities; the common means of local transportation is the side-car, a two-wheeled jaunting cart upon which one sits in a cramped position and which careens and joggles fearsomely over the uneven roads. The Irish hotel servant is inefficient, slow, and ofttimes assertive to the point of rudeness. Restaurants generally are poor and give one an impression of slovenliness.

These things are superficials; but they tend to show that there is no local atmosphere which immediately enlists the sympathies of the chance visitor. Of tourists of course there are none. Empty hotels stand forlornly at such resorts as Killarney; the majority of those who pass through Ireland to-day

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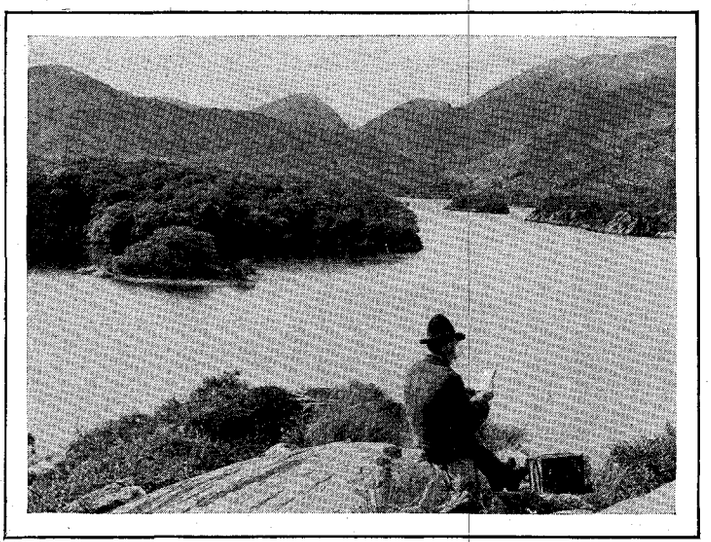

(C) Keystone

ON THE LAKES OF KILLARNEY

"Of tourists of course there are none. Empty hotels stand forlornly at such resorts as Killarney; the majority of those who pass through Ireland to-day are newspaper correspondents and others having business there"

are newspaper correspondents and others having business there. Whatever feeling of pro-Irish partisanship may be awakened in them is certainly due to the natural distaste of the civilian for military rule, and not to any insidious propaganda put out by the land or the inhabitants thereof.

There is in parts of Dublin—for instance, in the quiet squares which have been unchanged since Georgian times—a certain Old World charm. But there are slums in Dublin which compare favorably with those which any European city has to offer. The Londoner shows one Limehouse and Vauxhall and Mile End Road with a certain melancholy pleasure, as if to say: "There, now! Can your East Side of New York beat that?" But in the mean streets back of the Custom House in Dublin, on the left bank of the Liffey, one knows that poverty and sheer hopelessness can go little further. Dublin, incidentally, has almost as many beggars to the square mile as has Naples.

Cork is very different from its sister city to the north. Cork is hustling and commercial; Dublin is (in normal times) placid and unruffled. Cork bears the same relation to Dublin, in so far as communal psychology is concerned, as Norfolk does to Richmond—the busy port and the capital city. Limerick is much like Cork, but without the meridional touch in the air. It is in Cork that one finds the most bitter, implacable, picturesque hatred of England. It is in Cork that the British Government forces have had the hardest task of all. The people of Cork are bitter-enders, *jusquaboutists*. They are like the most fiery of the irreconcilables of the Southern Confederacy after 1865. Incidentally, Cork is dirty and muddy.

One's memories of most of the smaller Irish towns are connected with tragedy. It seems so futile that in these (to an American) God-forsaken, provincial little hamlets the inability of man to live peaceably with man has brought death and destruction. Names come crowding to one's mind—Macroom, Killarney, Tralee, Listowel, Tipperary, Thurles, Foynes, Balbriggan, Mallow, Blarney; into these and dozens of similar places have come passion and murder and arson.

V

Many vignettes stand out clearly in the mind of one who has known Ireland in its present throes. There is the memory of the village of Hospital, on the Limerick-Tipperary border. One finds its type the world over; a single street, a *soi-disant* hotel, a saloon or two, several stores, a church, and a few dwellings. Distinctively Irish are the police barracks, with the diamond design emblazoned above the door, and the creamery.

I saw Hospital for the first and only time one raw morning in December, 1920. A party of American and English journalists were traveling from Limerick to Tipperary in an open automobile. This fact in itself is remarkable; motor travel for more than a distance of twenty miles was strictly forbidden, and it was only after all sorts of formalities that the party was allowed to make the tour. It did not travel by rail because the railways were all virtually shut down at that time.

The automobile was halted at the first of the town's public houses, and the thoroughly chilled journalists, leaving one of their number to explain matters to the corporal's guard of soldiers which barred the car's way, filed into the convenient "pub" for refreshment. Some drank Irish whisky, and some Scotch. All were sorry immediately thereafter.

The soldiers, after a perfunctory glance at the party's permits, allowed themselves to be bought drinks. Then a member of the party expressed a desire to photograph the unusual spectacle of a sand-bag barricade, which jutted out from the front of an ordinary dwelling well into the street.

"Sure," said the Tommy. "Come 'nd see the officer."

"The officer" was a tall, blond youth, immaculately dressed, as is the manner of British subalterns, and thoroughly bored. Without the slightest display of interest, he consented to the photographing. Then he drawled:

"What are you chaps up to? Hunting beastly atrocities?"

"Found one already," remarked an American.

The subaltern stiffened.

"Indeed? May I ask where?"

"Your local pub. It sells the worst whisky in Ireland."

"Oh, one can't drink that stuff!" said the officer, with a smile. "I have some real Scotch inside. Come and have some."

It was truly "real Scotch." During the ceremony of its consumption an English journalist, who had discovered that the officer had during the war served in his own division, remarked:

"I say, why all the warlike preparations? It seems dull enough here."

"It is," promptly assented the lieutenant. "When I came, I found the johnnies here had burned the local police barracks, you know. So to keep my men busy I had 'em fix me up my little fortress. . . . Deadly hole this. I'm fed up on it."

He thought for a moment. Then:

"In fact, I'm *bloody well* fed up, gentlemen!"

He seemed rendered rather breathless by his own profanity; and the journalists left him there, with his men, with fixed bayonets, outside on the friendliest of terms with the villagers. Ostensibly they were enemies; really they were merely a somewhat pathetic paradox.

VI

One remembers also conversations with "A. E." (George Russell), poet and mystic, in his workroom at Plunkett House, Dublin. Outside, the seemingly ceaseless rain blew against the windows; within, the old man, with his long white beard, sat and stared into the peat fire and spoke in his gentle voice of the Calvary of his country. One remembers Darrel Figgis, secretary of the Sinn Fein Commission on the Resources of Ireland, who, with his aggressive red whiskers and his boyish eyes, demonstrates to one the vast potentialities of Ireland if it were allowed to work out its own economic destiny. One recalls Erskine Childers, novelist and historian, who served during the war in the British navy; Desmond Fitzgerald, Sinn Fein propagandist and press agent *excellence*, who at present is "on the run" and consequently to be interviewed only by a very few people. These men and hundreds like them are terrifyingly sincere.

And of the general run of the people

The Irishman in Ireland does not differ radically from the Irishman anywhere else. The fundamental thing to be remembered about him is that he is a Celt and not an Anglo-Saxon. Quick-tempered, moody, imaginative, fundamentally unchanging but superficially a being of apparent instability and erratic temperament, he is firm in the conviction that no Englishman can understand him. He is fond of describing the Englishman as slow, humorless, imaginative, and stupid; and when one asks him why such a defici

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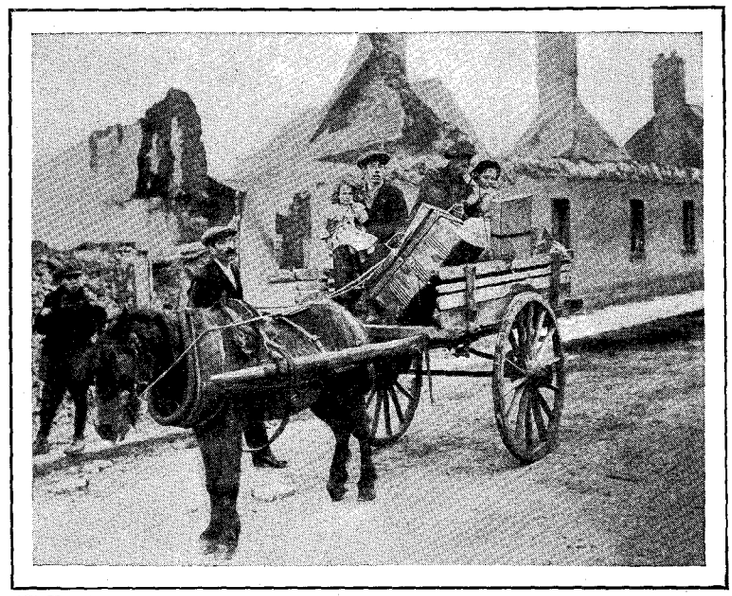
should have held sway in his country for so many hundreds of years, he fails to see the absurdity of his estimate of the people in the neighboring island. He is sentimental, but certainly not to the extent that acquaintance with romantic Irish plays and ballads would suggest. He varies amazingly of course. In Galway there are families which believe firmly that the fairies will cast a spell over their children unless due precautions are observed; in Dublin there are men of culture and scientific attainments almost second to none in the British Isles.

But all of these people—rich man, poor man, beggar man, thief—believe fundamentally in the fact of Ireland's separate nationality. The Nationalists do not, as their name would imply, favor the Irish Republic; and the Unionists of course stand for close adherence to the United Kingdom. But they nevertheless recognize the psychology of their compatriots.

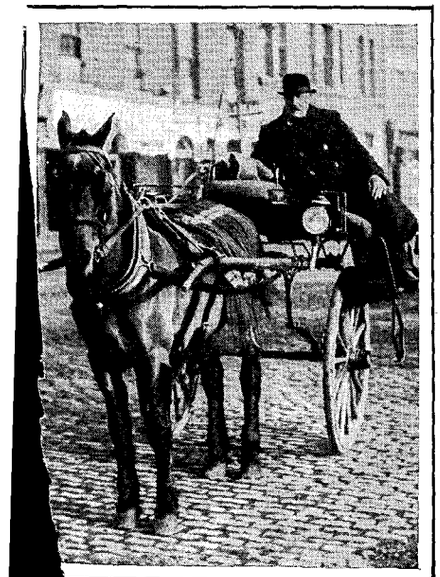
More and more Irishmen of all creeds are veering to the "killing no murder" fallacy. That is, they tend to credit what seems to me the weakest of Sinn Fein's claims: that a state of war exists between Ireland and the British Empire, and that the shooting down of unarmed British forces is a legitimate form of warfare. But if there ever was a vicious circle, it is the round of assassination and counter-assassination, outrage and reprisal, which devastates Ireland to-day; and he is indeed a man of admirable detachment who, residing in Ireland to-day, does not take sides one way or the other. One's perspective alters amazingly between Kingstown and Holyhead (the Irish and English channel ports); one journalist is credited with the saying that the Irish Sea is wider than the Atlantic Ocean so far as it is a bar to national understanding. Nevertheless there remains that next-doorness to England which keeps the Briton thinking of Ireland merely as a rebellious province.



(C) Keystone

REFUGEES LEAVING THEIR HOME IN TRALEE

"One's memories of most of the smaller Irish towns are connected with tragedy. . . . In these (to an American) God-forsaken, provincial little hamlets the inability of man to live peaceably with man has brought death and destruction. Names come crowding to one's mind—Macroom, Killarney, Tralee. . . . Into these and dozens of similar places have come passion and murder and arson"



(C) Keystone

A TWO-WHEELED TAXI IN DUBLIN

"There are a very few taxis to be found in the larger cities; the common means of local transportation is the side-car, a two-wheeled jaunting cart upon which one sits in a raised position and which careens and lurches somely over the uneven roads"

VII

However, suppose—just suppose—that southern Ireland were to get what it wants. Not independence, of course; that is unattainable under present conditions, and even the most extreme republicans probably, in their innermost hearts, recognize it, although they would repudiate the suggestion that their ideal has been set too high for practical realization. But suppose that Ireland were to be accorded the widest possible form of Home Rule within the Empire: fiscal autonomy, control of customs and excise duties—in short, virtually all the prerogatives now enjoyed by Canada or Australia.

Ulster would stick out like a sore thumb.

Ulster lives in the present. Its people say that the south lives on memories of past wrongs and inchoate visions of future glories. Ulster is industrial, hustling, businesslike. It builds ships and it weaves textiles. And it worships Sir Edward Carson.

An Ulster Sunday-school teacher once put to her class the question, "Who made the world?"

"Sir Edward Carson," was the prompt reply from half a dozen children.

"No. Sir Edward is a great man, but he didn't make the world. Can't any of the class think who really did make the world?"

"God," timidly hazarded a small boy in one corner.

The rest of the class turned savagely on him.

"Shut up, ye wee Sinn Feiner!" they chorused.

Ulster is one of the four ancient provinces of Ireland. As does each of the others—Connaught, Leicester, and Munster—it includes several counties. Six of Ireland's thirty-two counties are in Ulster, and, although there is in them a considerable Catholic Nationalist minority—as witness the bloody Belfast riots last summer—it is preponderatingly Protestant and Unionist. It hates the rest of Ireland, but it fears it even though it now has its own Home Rule. It is ironical that Ulster, which was arming against Home Rule for all Ireland in 1914, now arms against the south, which doesn't want Home Rule—or the 1920 Lloyd George brand, anyway. Ulster doesn't particularly want Home Rule either. Belfast is not at all excited over the prospect of being the seat of the first Irish Parliament recognized by the British crown for over one hundred years. Ulster is firmly convinced that the south wants to raise customs barriers against it, to tax it out of existence, and that the slightest relaxation of its vigilance may prove fatal. In fact, Ulster views the south in much the same light as France now views Germany: for the moment in each case the former is ascendant, apparently secure; but in reality each is decidedly uncomfortable, like the small boy who doesn't believe in the terrors of the dark, but who, just the same, prefers the light.

It was after a trip to Belfast, a return to Dublin, and a final crossing to England that an American journalist reached the conclusion that, exciting as "covering" the Irish situation now is, it would be tame beside the task of being a war correspondent at the first All-Irish Peace Conference.

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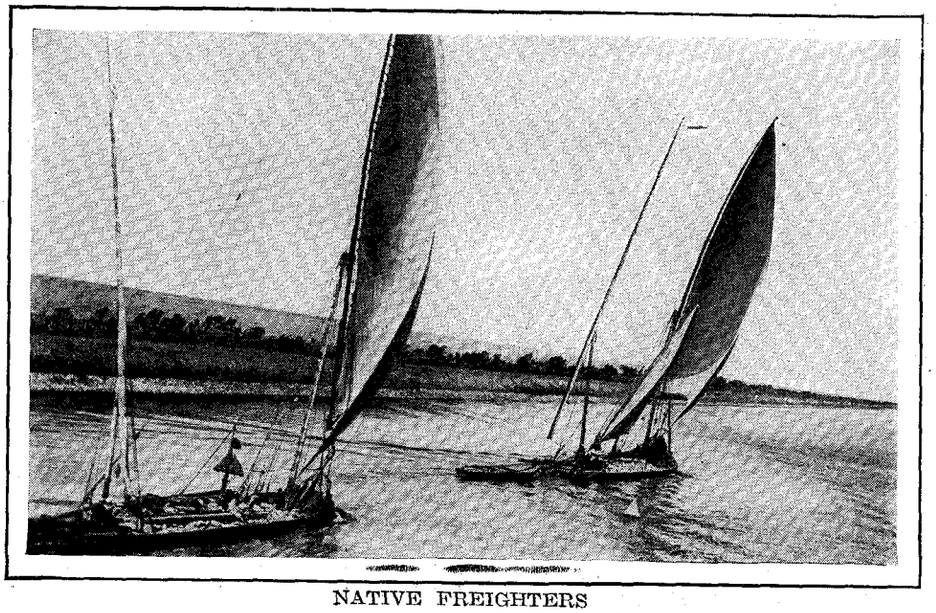
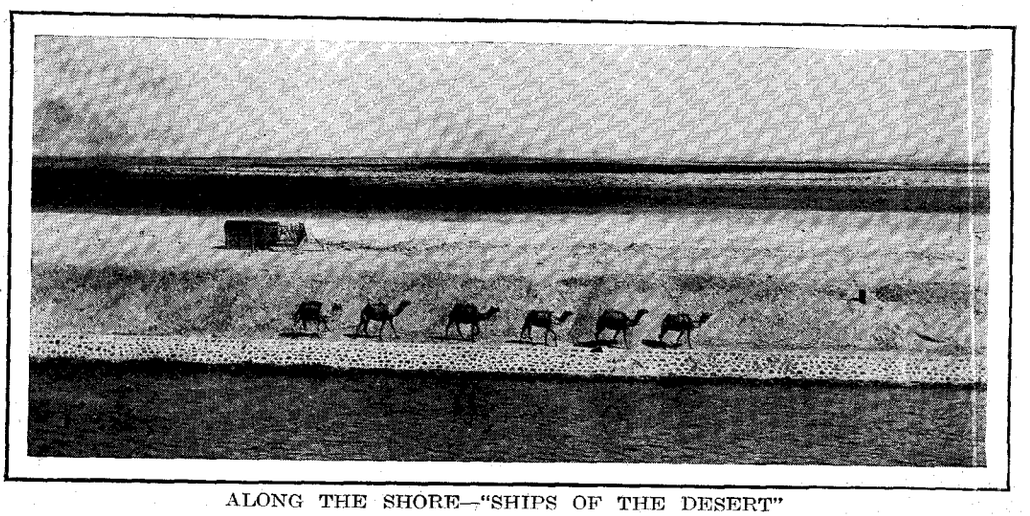
THE GREAT SHIP CANAL OF THE EAST

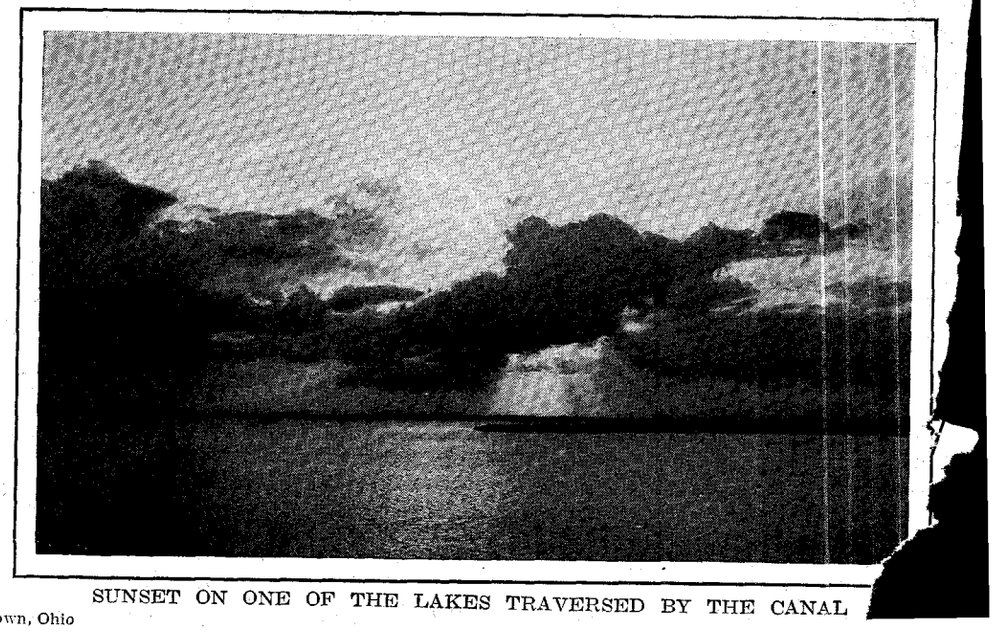
PICTURES TAKEN ALONG THE SUEZ CANAL BY AN OUTLOOK READER



NATIVE FREIGHTERS



ALONG THE SHORE—"SHIPS OF THE DESERT"



SUNSET ON ONE OF THE LAKES TRAVERSED BY THE CANAL

From P. C. Kuegle, Youngstown, Ohio

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THE BOOK TABLE

A REMARKABLE PORTRAIT

SECRETARY LANSING PAINTS PRESIDENT WILSON

AS a tragic record of wrecked friendship and political ineptitude this book[1] is almost, if not quite, unique. Never, so far as I know, has the second highest officer of a great state in a great national and international crisis broken with his master and then appealed to the world for a verdict upon the injustice with which he has been treated. There is one possible exception. Clarendon broke with Charles II and wrote a vindication which was condemned by Parliament to be burned by the common hangman. Wolsey

ROBERT LANSING

broke with Henry VIII, but his only appeal from the egotism of his monarch is the famous phrase which Shakespeare puts into his mouth expressing the wish that he had served his God with half the zeal he served his king. Charles James Fox broke with George III, but left no portrait of the latter's incompetence. Halifax broke with James II and Shrewsbury broke with William of Orange. But it was Macaulay, and not Halifax or Shrewsbury, who painted the portraits of William III, of James II, the latter a ruler who, as another writer says, "showed firmness when conciliation was needful and weakness when resolution alone could have saved the day; moreover, though he mismanaged almost every political problem with which he personally dealt, he was singularly tactless and impatient of advice."

Feeling, perhaps, that there is little likelihood that a future Shakespeare or future Macaulay may arise to deal with the Peace Conference and with its most outstanding personality, Mr. Lansing believed it to be his duty to interpret that personality himself.

The title of Mr. Lansing's book is "The Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative." It might as well have been named "Woodrow Wilson: A Personal Portrait," for in every chapter and on almost every page there appears the hand, the face, the voice, the mental reaction of President Wilson. The origin of the book is found in the letter which President Wilson wrote to Mr. Lansing in February, 1920, requesting his resignation. Indeed, the first chapter opens abruptly with a quotation from the President's letter which would be comic in its pedagogic and dictatorial spirit if it were not tragic:

> While we were still in Paris, I felt, and have felt increasingly ever since, that you accepted my guidance and direction on questions with regard to which I had to instruct you only with increasing reluctance. . . .
>
> I must say that it would relieve me of embarrassment, Mr. Secretary, the embarrassment of feeling your reluctance and divergence of judgment, if you would give your present office up and afford me an opportunity to select some one whose mind would more willingly go along with mine.

Mr. Lansing assigns as his reason for this personal narrative the desire to learn from the American public whether his course of action, which led to his abrupt dismissal from his high office, was justified. He declares that he wishes to interpret, not Mr. Wilson, but himself. "To attempt to dissect the mentality and to analyze the intellectual processes of Woodrow Wilson is not my purpose." But, as a matter of fact, the reader gets a picture, not of Mr. Lansing, but of Mr. Wilson. The book gives a reflection of Lansing, but a very distinct and vivid outline of Wilson. It is only fair to say that after reading it the severest critic of the ex-President ought to be able to understand why Mr. Wilson might have wished almost any time since 1918 to ask for Mr. Lansing's resignation, for Mr. Lansing makes it perfectly clear by publication of notes which he had written to the President and of extracts from his own diary that for four years he had been unsympathetic with the President's point of view regarding world peace. The President's gross error, so far as his personal relations with the Secretary are concerned, was in asking for the resignation in the form and in the terms in which he couched his request. Mr. Lansing's error, which he admits himself, was in remaining in office so long when he found himself so clearly out of sympathy with the President's temperament, policies, and methods. He remained in office from patriotic motives—from a fear that his resignation during the war might have injured the cause of America, and, after the armistice, that it might have interfered with the rapid establishment of peace.

It was a difficult question for him to decide It is not easy to see even now whether his resignation in December, 1918, or January, 1919, would have been a detriment or an advantage to the political welfare of the country. It certainly would have been an advantage to Mr. Lansing himself, for he had to live and work for at least a year in a thoroughly anomalous position, which must have been exceedingly irksome to him and must have greatly interfered with his work. No man can do good work who is living in a continuous state of vexation of spirit and irritation of mind.

My sympathies are with Mr. Lansing, and they are increased by the courtesy, dignity, and candor with which he has written his book. It is by no means an attack upon Woodrow Wilson, and those

(C) Harris & Ewing

WOODROW WILSON

who buy it in the hope that they are going to find some spicy reading will be completely disappointed. He does not question the legality of the President's course in either going to Paris or in acting there as practically the sole representative of the United States. "From first to last he acted entirely within his Constitutional powers as President of the United States." But he does question very frankly the President's wisdom and good judgment in all his relations to the Peace Treaty. He did not approve of Mr. Wilson's going to Paris in person. He did not approve of his weaving the Covenant of the League of Nations into the Peace Treaty itself. He did not approve of making the League of Nations a military alliance based on Article X instead of an Association of Nations to establish judicial procedure for the settlement of international disputes. He did not approve of the Shantung settlement. He did not approve of the President's negotiations with the Russian Bolshevists. He did not approve of the President's appeal to the country in 1918 to vote only for Democrats, an appeal which he calls an "injudicious and unwarranted attack upon the loyalty of his political opponents." But he pays a tribute to the President's dignity, courtesy, and moral convictions. It is apparent that Mr. Lan-

[1] Peace Negotiations: A Personal Narrative. By Robert Lansing. Houghton Mifflin Company.

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sing regards Mr. Wilson as temperamentally unfit for the duties of a great administrator in a democracy. He sums up his estimate of the President's administrative character in the following passage:

> As I review the entire negotiations and the incidents which took place at Paris, President Wilson's inherent dislike to depart in the least from an announced course, a characteristic already referred to, seems to me to have been the most potent influence in determining his method of work during the Peace Conference. He seemed to think that, having marked out a definite plan of action, any deviation from it would show intellectual weakness or vacillation of purpose. Even when there could be no doubt that in view of changed conditions it was wise to change a policy which he had openly adopted or approved, he clung to it with peculiar tenacity, refusing or merely failing to modify it. Mr. Wilson's mind once made up seemed to become inflexible. It appeared to grow impervious to arguments and even to facts. It lacked the elasticity and receptivity which have always been characteristic of sound judgment and right thinking. He might break, but he would not bend. This rigidity of mind accounts in large measure for the deplorable, and, as it seemed to me, needless, conflict between the President and the Senate over the Treaty of Versailles. It accounts for other incidents in his career which have materially weakened his influence and cast doubts on his wisdom. It also accounts, in my opinion, for the President's failure to prepare or to adopt a programme at Paris or to commit himself to a draft of a treaty as a basis for the negotiations, which failure, I am convinced, not only prevented the signature of a short preliminary treaty of peace, but lost Mr. Wilson the leadership in the proceedings, as the statesmen of the other Great Powers outlined the Treaty negotiated and suggested the majority of the articles which were written into it. It would have made a vast difference if the President had known definitely what he sought, but he apparently did not. He dealt in generalities, leaving, but not committing, to others their definition and application. He was always in the position of being able to repudiate the interpretation which others might place upon his declarations of principle.

The question as to whether Mr. Wilson was justified in asking for Mr. Lansing's resignation, whether Mr. Lansing was justified in remaining in his post long after he had lost sympathy with Mr. Wilson, whether Mr. Lansing (as Mr. Wilson apparently thinks) is too legalistic to be a great or even an influential statesman—all these questions are ephemeral, although interesting. But what is to be Mr. Wilson's position in history as an American President, and what decision the civilized nations of the world shall come to with regard to an international association or league—these questions are not ephemeral. They are of real and lasting importance to human progress. Shall Mr. Wilson's methods and policies be adopted as an ideal for democracy or shall they be avoided as indicating one of the pitfalls of democracy? It is important that intelligent men shall have some opinion on these points. Mr. Lansing's book is a very illuminating and valuable contribution to the discussion of these questions. It will be a source book or document which, I hazard a guess, future historians will consult with interest, and after they have read it will quote with confidence.

A word should be added as to Mr. Lansing's workmanship in the writing of this book. It is admirable. Quiet, calm, dispassionate, fair-minded, and even self-critical, speaking as he would speak in the Supreme Court on a question of fact or principle and not as a popular lawyer would speak to a jury in a sensational case of personal animosity and prejudice, Mr. Lansing has nevertheless, perhaps unconsciously, portrayed the person and character of Mr. Wilson in a way that might command the admiration of a Henry James among novelists or a Sargent among portrait painters. What makes Velasquez one of the greatest portrait painters of all times is his simple truthfulness; his depiction both of the charms and the defects of his subject; and his moderation in the use of color, which, while often vivid, is never lurid. It is qualities similar to these which make Mr. Lansing's portrait of Wilson more impressive the more it is considered.

LAWRENCE F. ABBOTT.

THE NEW BOOKS

HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY

UNITED STATES AND LATIN AMERICA (THE). By John Holladay Latané, Ph.D., LL.D. Doubleday, Page & Co., Garden City.

This volume describes the political history of Latin-American countries from the time when the colonies began to revolt against European rule. In particular, it is an account of the diplomatic relations between the United States and Latin America. The author, who is now Dean of the College of the Johns Hopkins University, is already well known because of his previous volumes on Latin-American subjects.

MISCELLANEOUS

AMERICAN RED CROSS IN THE GREAT WAR (THE) By Henry P. Davison. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

PASSING LEGIONS (THE). By George Buchanan Fife. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

STORY OF THE AMERICAN RED CROSS IN ITALY (THE). By Charles M. Bakewell. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

RED CROSS CHAPTER AT WORK (A). By Marie Cecil and Anselm Chomel. Illustrated. The Hollenbeck Press, Indianapolis.

Here are four volumes descriptive of Red Cross work. Mr. Davison's is a general description of the American Red Cross in the war; Mr. Fife's is a description of how the American Red Cross met the American army in Great Britain; Mr. Bakewell's is a description of the American Red Cross in Italy; and the book by Marie Cecile and Anselm Chomel describes a particular Red Cross Chapter at work. This last-named volume is a narrative history of the Indianapolis Chapter, and Miss Chomel and her brother have done something more than to give us dry statistics. Of these four volumes, Mr. Davison's will doubtless be the one to which reference will most frequently be made. As Mr. Davison was Chairman of the War Council of the American Red Cross, his book carries with it its own authority. Its value will be a double one; first, for the wealth of accurate detail with which the ramifications of the work of the Red Cross are set forth, and, second, for its appeal to the American people for their continued interest in the Red Cross.

FUR TRADE OF AMERICA (THE). By Agnes C. Laut. Illustrated. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This book's matter-of-fact title gives little indication of the world of romance that it unfolds. The haunts of the Indian trapper, the story of the great fur companies, the habits of the fur-bearing animals and the methods of hunting them and making their pelts into garments, the attempts to raise these animals on farms—all are described entertainingly and with full knowledge. In addition, complete descriptions of furs, dyed and undyed, are given, which will be helpful to every woman who buys or plans to buy a fur garment.

TRAVEL AND DESCRIPTION

ACROSS MONGOLIAN PLAINS. By Roy Chapman Andrews. Illustrated. D. Appleton & Co., New York.

Sportsmen and lovers of wild life will revel in this book. Its author has purposely minimized the scientific aspects of his expedition and expanded the picturesque and adventurous elements. The illustrations, from photographs by Mrs. Andrews, are exceptionally good.

BOOKS RECEIVED

RELIGION AND PHILOSOPHY

CHURCH AND LABOR (THE). Edited by John A. Ryan, D.D., LL.D., and Joseph Husslein, S.J., Ph.D. The Macmillan Company, New York.

LIFE OF CHRIST (THE). By the Rev. G Robinson Lees, B.A. Illustrated. Dodd Mead & Co., New York.

MIND-ENERGY. By Henri Bergson. Trans lated by H. Wildon Carr. Henry Holt Co., New York.

POWER OF PRAYER (THE). Being a Selectio of Walker Trust Essays with a Study the Essays as a Religious and Theologica Document. Edited by the Right Rev. W P. Paterson, D.D., and David Russell. Th Macmillan Company, New York.

RELIGION AND BUSINESS. By Roger W Babson. The Macmillan Company, Ne York.

RELIGION AND HEALTH. By James Walsh, M.D., Ph.D., Sc.D., etc. Lit Brown & Co., Boston.

MISCELLANEOUS

DEMOCRACY AND ASSIMILATION. Th Blending of Immigrant Heritages in An ica. By Julius Drachsler. The Macm Company, New York.

EVENING PLAY CENTRES FOR CHILDR By Janet Penrose Trevelyan. Pref Mrs. Humphry Ward. E. P Co , New York

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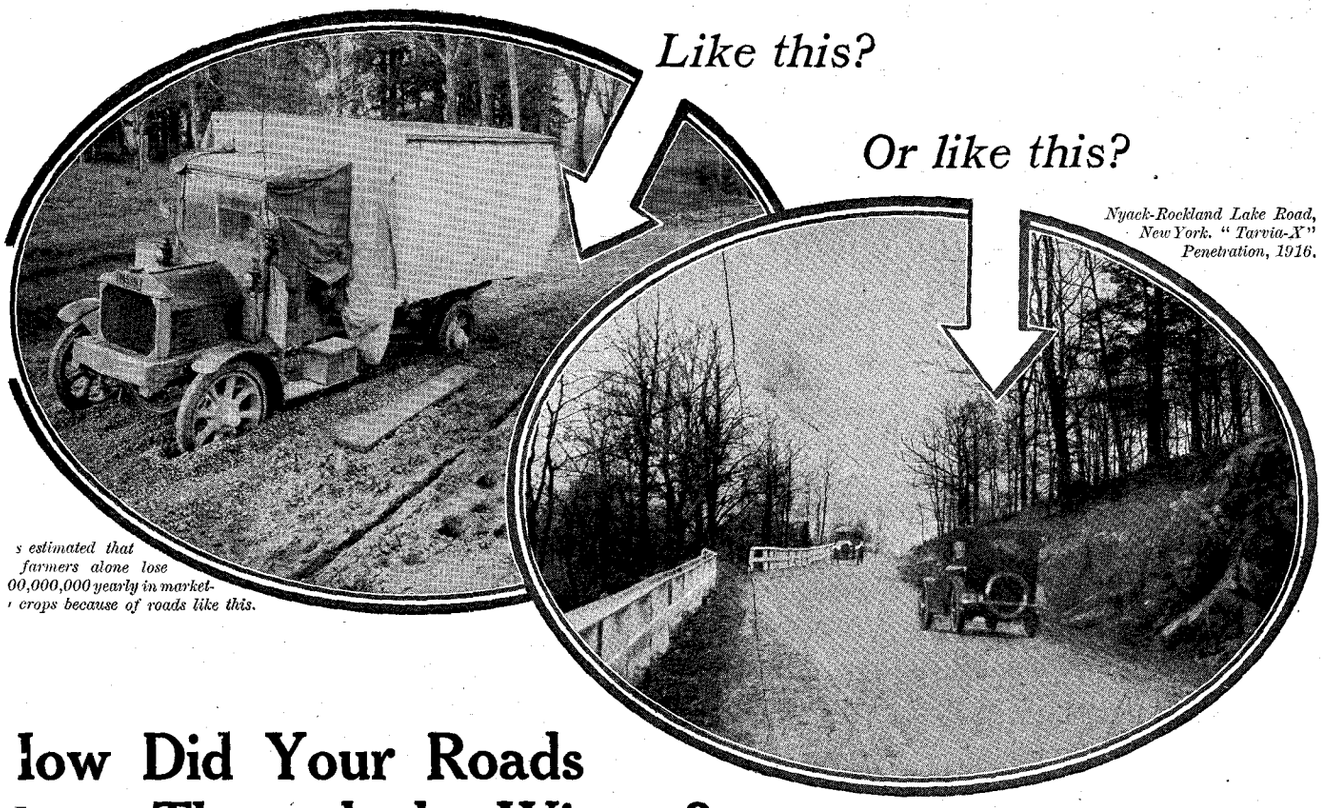
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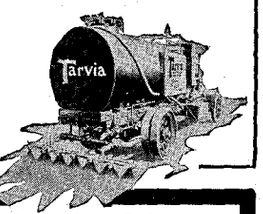

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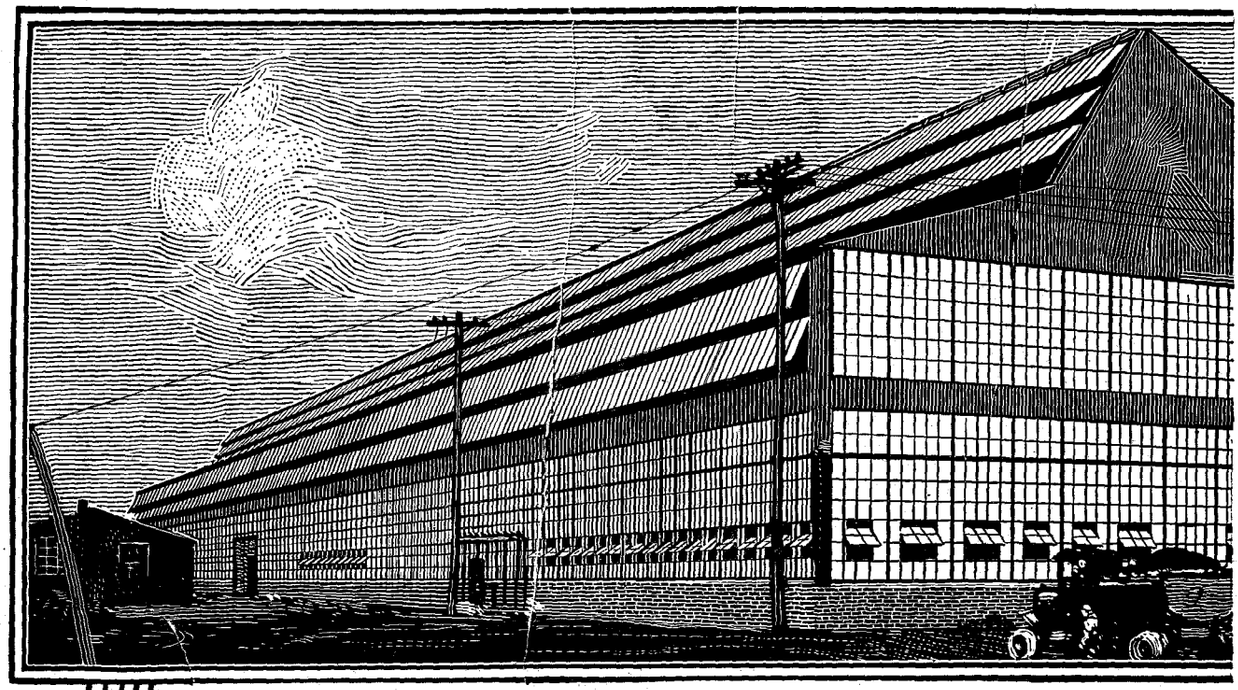

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2250 East Grand Boulevard, Detroit, Mich.
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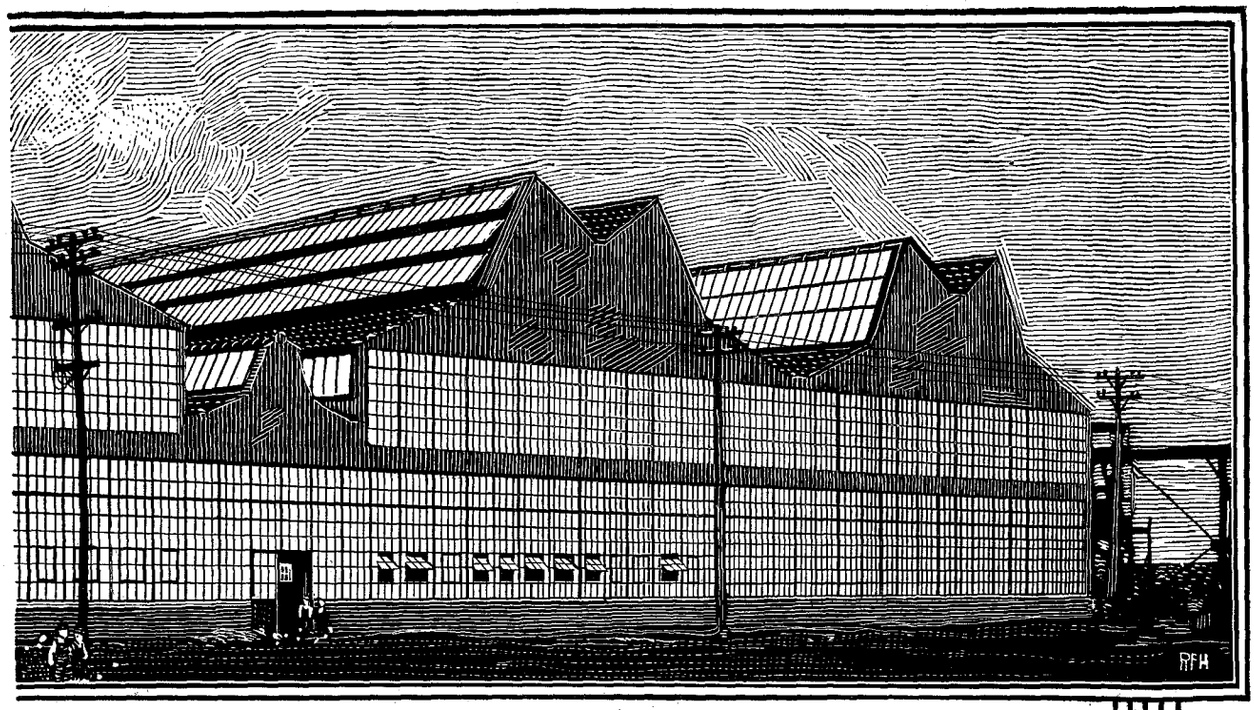

Architect, Albert Kahn; Contractor, The Albert A. Albrecht Company
Sash Erected by Fenestra Construction Company

WindoWalls Keep in a Steel Tubes Mill

through which it is sucked as from a chimney, while pure air enters through the ventilators in the sidewall sash near the ground.

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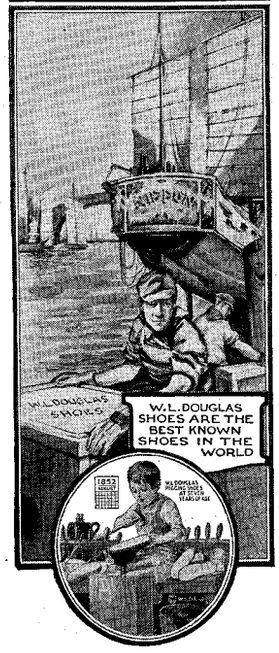

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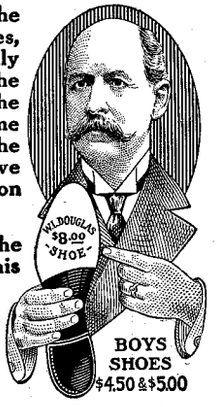

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THIS WEEK'S OUTLOOK

A WEEKLY OUTLINE STUDY OF CURRENT HISTORY[1]

BY J. MADISON GATHANY
SCARBOROUGH SCHOOL, SCARBOROUGH-ON-HUDSON, N. Y.

Ireland

IN last week's Outlook, the issue of March 30, the first article in Mr. Scarborough's rather unusual correspondence from Ireland appeared. On another page in this week's issue we find further correspondence on the same subject. In answering the following questions both of these articles should be studied.

How do you interpret the following statement, found on page 505 of last week's issue: "If the turbulent isle were, say, as far away from Whitehall as Mesopotamia, it is very probable that some sort of settlement would long since have been reached"?

Who is Sir Horace Plunkett? What is his attitude on the Irish question? Compare his ideas on this question with those of Sir Edward Carson. What is your opinion of the position taken by each?

How old is the Irish problem? What relation had the following men to it: Henry II, Henry VIII, Cromwell, William III, William Pitt, Daniel O'Connell, Gladstone, Parnell, and John Redmond?

What is the substance of anti-Irish legislation on the part of Great Britain up to 1800? Can you show by numerous definite illustrations that England has experienced a change of attitude toward Ireland since 1800?

What was Fenianism? Who organized this movement? What comparisons can you make between it and Sinn Fein?

Could Ireland to-day be enjoying the benefits of constitutional self-government within the British Empire as do Canada, Australia, and New Zealand? If so, why isn't she?

An exceptionally fair-minded presentation of the Irish question may be found in Chapter XIV of "Modern and Contemporary European History," by J. S. Schapiro (Houghton Mifflin). A very readable and unbiased volume on the Irish problem is Turner's "Ireland and England" (Century). Stimulating reading on this question will also be found in "Red Terror and Green," by Richard Dawson (Dutton), and in "Ireland—An Enemy of the Allies?" by R. C. Escoflaire (Dutton).

Cardinal Gibbons

What is the meaning of the word Cardinal? What is the function of the College of Cardinals?

What are the leading facts in the ecclesiastical record of Cardinal Gibbons?

In what respects did the Cardinal help Protestants and Catholics to understand each other better? How valuable do you consider this phase of his work?

Did Cardinal Gibbons prove that

[1] These questions and comments are designed not only for the use of current events classes and clubs, debating societies, teachers of history and English, and the like, but also for discussion in the home and for suggestions to the reader who desires to study current events as well as to read about them.—The Editor.

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...oman Catholic and a loyal American? What specific illustration can you give in support of your answer?

What outstanding characteristics and aptitudes did Cardinal Gibbons possess? Are such characteristics and aptitudes beyond the possession of ordinary people?

In what respects is America and the whole world poorer for the death of Cardinal Gibbons?

Book Table: "A Remarkable Portrait"

Do you find anything new in what Mr. Lansing tells us about President Wilson? If not, of what value do you consider Mr. Lansing's book?

Mr. Lansing was very much opposed to the Versailles Treaty and the French-British-American Alliance. Is he to be respected or condemned for signing these documents? Would Mr. Lansing have done himself more credit if he had resigned as a Peace Commissioner and thus have had no part in these arrangements?

There are those who gravely doubt the wisdom of Mr. Lansing publishing his book on the peace negotiations. Among other things, such believe that he should have waited for time and the official correspondence for the vindication of his attitude and action. Was it Mr. Lansing's duty to interpret his own action and President Wilson in his relation to the Peace Treaty?

A Criminal's Jaunt to Washington

Do you think Attorney-General Daugh-erty did right in allowing Mr. Debs to eave the Federal penitentiary and go to Washington?

What matters would you take into consideration if you were in position to grant pardons? Do any of these fit the ase of Mr. Debs?

From the standpoint of expediency, is here anything to be said in favor of pardoning Debs?

If President Harding should pardon Debs, should anybody be forced to remain in jail?

The Red Wolf in Russia

What is your explanation of why oviet Russia proposed that trade relaons between itself and the United ates be established?

Have we any right to dictate, or to ggest, what kind of government Rusa shall have or what attitude that govnment shall hold toward private propty? Is it any concern of ours whether e government to which the Russian ople submit is a government that cognizes no law except its own or ether it regards itself bound by ordiry international relationships?

Is every American citizen now at libty to ship goods to Russia? Have we consulate system in Soviet Russia? e consuls indispensable to internaonal trade?

Two valuable books to read in conction with this topic are "Foreign change Explained," by F. Escher facmillan), and "Free Trade, the ff, and Reciprocity," by F. W. Taus-Macmillan).

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OUR SERVANT— THE PASSENGER AUTOMOBILE

BY ALVAN MACAULEY

THERE is an old proverb to the effect that you can "Give a dog a bad name and hang it." During the last few months the automobile industry has been more or less in the situation of such a dog, and one of the principal reasons has been that there has been given to it the bad name of "luxury." People did not like to see a "luxury," in these times of stress, absorbing the workmen, money, and raw material that have gone into the automobile.

This estimate of the automobile, however, while it was correct five years ago has long since ceased to be true. The last five or six years have seen a complete change in the status of the passenger car. What was once a rich man's toy has now become one of the most valuable of our economic servants and one that is, if possible, giving greater service to the poor man than to the rich.

The best test of the service rendered by any man or any product from an economic view-point is whether it "earns its keep," whether it increases the productive power of the man who buys and uses it, whether it permits him to do enough more work to pay for itself and leave him a profit. No product that does these things is a luxury and no industry that supplies products of that kind is a parasite. The bigger the profit that is left above the cost, the greater is the utility of the industry and the greater are the amounts of public support, material, money, and labor which it pays the public to give it.

Those of us who have kept in close touch with the automobile industry have long realized that the passenger car has become, not a luxury, but an economic servant. There is no need of considering the truck in this discussion for its economic utility is already recognized, but statistics recently compiled show that the passenger automobile itself is paying many times its cost on a pure dollar-and-cents basis.

These figures were gathered by the National Automobile Chamber of Commerce through a questionnaire sent thousands of automobile owners at random all over the country. They show several things.

In the first place, they indicate that the average passenger automobile has increased the working capacity of the owner by 56.7 per cent; and that the average man with an automobile has 56.7 per cent larger earning capacity, worth 56.7 per cent more in economic value to the community. These figures translated, mean that the eight million passenger cars in use in the United States in 1920 added the equivalent of more than four and a half million workers every day to the Nation's productive forces. This is hardly a luxury.

There were produced in America last year nearly two million passenger automobiles. Since they will increase the productive power of their buyers, it means that the industry contributed to America during the year the equivalent of a productive force of 1,140,000 men. Also, since these cars will last be-

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five and six years, it means that the year's production of automobiles gave America an increased productive power amounting to more than five or six million years of work. The total number of men employed in the automobile trade and all its branches is less than one million, so that in that year the industry paid back to the United States more man power than it absorbed, and the cars made during that year will eventually pay back perhaps four or five times as much more.

Every automobile pays for itself five or six times over, even if we include the few used for pleasure only. These figures of course do not include the value of the automobile in making life better, healthier, and happier for millions of people.

In the second place, the questionnaire showed that ninety per cent of automobiles are used chiefly in business. It showed also that sixty-four per cent of all mileage run by automobiles is for business purposes. And it should be noted that in 1919, the last year for which figures were available, passenger mileage traveled on the railways was 46,145,000,000 miles, while the automobile passenger mileage was at least three billion miles beyond that.

These figures prove in concrete form how fully the automobile is justified on a purely economic basis, how greatly it is contributing to our wealth and progress as well as our happiness. They give an intimation of how our progress will be checked if the old mistaken feeling that the car is a luxury should be permitted to stand in the way of a still more general use of passenger cars.

RATIONAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD

This was submitted in The Outlook's Prize Contest No. 1.—THE EDITORS.

FOR many years The Outlook headed the list of *necessary* annual subscriptions in our home.

When we left our college town and came West to cast our lot with the homesteaders who settled in this county, five years ago, The Outlook was on the reading-table of our log cabin, forty miles from a railway. Then came the inevitable pioneer trials—drought, hard winters, and unlooked-for losses. The Outlook was dropped.

Last winter our neighbor, the district teacher, told us she was an Outlook subscriber—the first one I had met since coming to the wilds! We at once became friends, and the beloved weekly was sent to our cabin as often as man or beast could cross the too-often impassable trails. In the spring we moved, and I felt keenly the lack of weekly rational intercourse with the outside world.

December 25, 1920, our faithful friend came back for a year, anyway, through the kindenss of a relative, in response to her inquiry, "What weekly magazine would you like for Christmas?"

Through these *mit oder ohne* periods of the last five years I have gained a perspective on The Outlook I could not have had in those days when it came as regularly, and seemed as necessary, as our meals.

The size, print, illustrations, scope of

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"For years Mr. Harriman had been working to get into Puget Sound. Why? He was already in San Francisco; he was already in Portland. If he simply sought an outlet to the Pacific ocean he had two of the three most important gateways. The reason was that he sought the BEST. Puget Sound is America's greatest maritime asset. The conditions there for opening a great world port are beyond comparison."—Patrick H. W. Ross, President National Marine League of the United States.

"As an officer of the Navy I had occasion to learn a great deal about the trade routes of Puget Sound. I have sailed the short course from Seattle to the Orient. I believe that section should be developed commercially in the interests of the Shipping Board, the Navy and the Nation. I shall do everything possible toward that end."—Admiral Benson, Chairman of the Shipping Board.

SEATTLE

The Pre-eminent Industrial Opportunity

By C. T. CONOVER

No Pacific Coast city outside of Puget Sound in any way approaches Seattle as a railroad center.

Seattle's ships ply to every civilized port. Already Seattle is one of the great world ports in water borne commerce and in 1918 was second only to New York among American cities.

The Pacific ocean is to be the scene of the great commercial development of the future and Providence has willed that Seattle shall be the chief beneficiary among Pacific Coast cities by placing her several hundred miles nearer the teeming millions of the Orient than are California ports and by making her for all time the entrepot for Alaska, our great undeveloped treasure land.

Seattle's back country produces abundantly what the world most urgently needs—grain, fish, fruit, dairy products, timber, coal and minerals.

"Sources of Eastern fuel supply are fast waning—seventy per cent. of the coal and seventy per cent. of the water power of the United States lie west of the Mississippi river. When the East loses its cheap power it loses its industrial kingship." So said Alexander T. Vogelsang, former Assistant Secretary of the Interior.

Then make a note that *one-sixth of the nation's water power is tributary to Seattle and one-third in her trade territory, plus a never failing supply of coal at her doors.*

That Seattle is to become a great industrial center is as inevitable as it was that she was to be one of the great world ports.

Seattle's climate alone gives a twenty per cent. margin in manufacturing costs. Dr. Woods Hutchinson says: *"If you do not know the climate west of the Cascades, you cannot imagine what the climate of heaven may be like."*

The Seattle Spirit is invincible and an inspiration.

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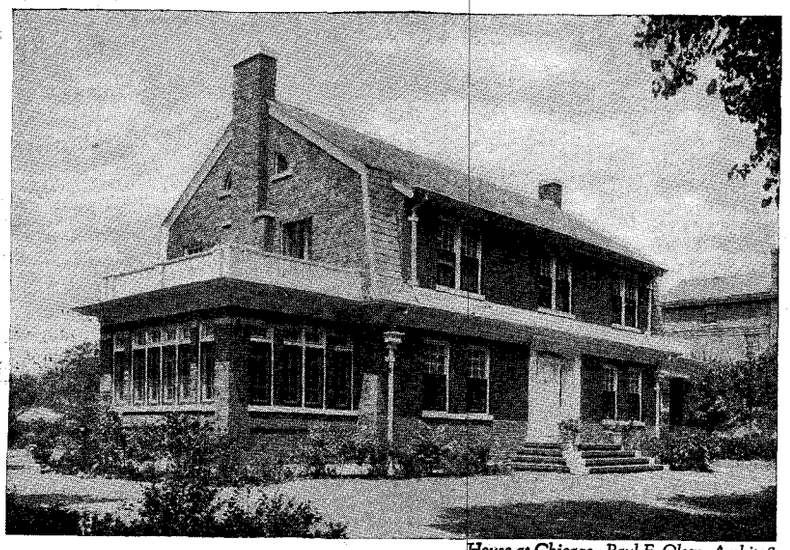

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The publication of this book is of world-wide importance. It contains the first inner story of the Peace Conference by one of the actual commissioners. It gives in frank detail the dramatic events that led up to Mr. Lansing's resignation as Secretary of State. It presents a vivid account of Mr. Lansing's differences with Woodrow Wilson, together with an engrossing analysis of Mr. Wilson's character and the decline of his leadership in Paris.

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RATIONAL INTERCOURSE WITH THE OUTSIDE WORLD *(Continued)*

news, and literary style seem to me beyond criticism. I like the enlargement of the book review section, though I long for more poetry, as you formerly had. The "Current History Outline" is a valuable improvement to your publication.

The one criticism that looms before me, and grows after an absence from this otherwise faultless friend, is the open and also veiled criticism of our Administration during the last two terms.

I realize that discrimination and analysis are essential for the advancement of truth and understanding, but in these times of universal faultfinding The Outlook could afford to pass up a few opportunities for exposing the faults and mistakes of our President. On all other subjects your criticisms show sympathy and constructive aims, but you have "harped" on Wilson's mistakes.

Even though your faults were legion, instead of *barely one,* I would revere your magazine for Lyman Abbott's ennobling articles. CORAL DENNY.

Buffalo, Wyoming.

STANLEY, COLUMBUS, AND MARK TWAIN

Not long after Mr. Henry M. Stanley returned from his first trip to Africa he came to America to deliver a course of lectures descriptive of his search for and discovery of Dr. Livingstone. His first lecture was given in Tremont Temple, at Boston, and my wife and I went to hear him. The hall was crowded, and we sat in the front row of the balcony, from which vantage-point the scene was panoramic.

At the appointed hour a short, fleshy man appeared and crossed the stage to a chair. Following him came a tall, spare man with shaggy hair and white mustache, who sauntered leisurely to the front of the stage. It was Mark Twain. The silence was absolute. I turned to my wife and whispered: "That is Mark Twain, and these people do not know him or they would applaud. We shall see some fun."

In his gentle, drawling voice, Mr. Clemens began to talk: "I don't suppose you folks expected to see me here tonight, but I was round to the Parker House and met my friend Mr. Stanley, and he asked me to come in and say a few words of introduction for him."

Then he proceeded to compare Mr. Stanley and his achievements with Mr. Christopher Columbus and what he accomplished.

"Now, what did Mr. Christopher Columbus do? Well, he discovered a continent. He started sailing west, and this continent was stretching for six thousand miles directly across his path, and all he had to do was to sit right still and hold on to his tiller and he could not miss by without hitting it somewhere. He had no charter to discover any particular part of it.

Now what did Mr. Stanley do? Why, he found a man. Now some of you folks know how difficult it is to find a man sometimes, especially when he owes you something." Then with a wide sweep of

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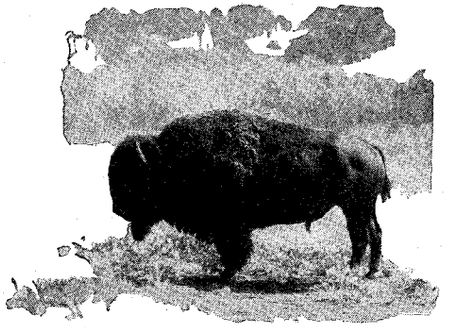

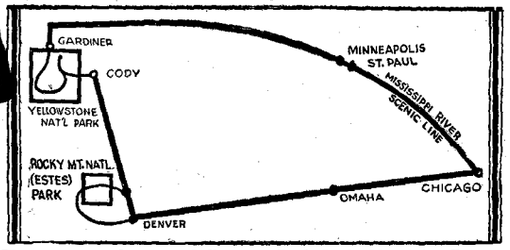

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STANLEY, COLUMBUS, AND MARK TWAIN *(Continued)*

his arm, he continued: "There is th great slab of an Africa and there sca tered all over it somewhere was a ma and Mr. Stanley found him."

This was Mark Twain's theme, and h developed it so irresistibly that h lifted that entire audience out of bound and he appealed to their emotions uni they responded with shouts of laughte The effect on Mr. Stanley was critic Sitting there without any visible ne and with his ample figure embraced h both arms, he rolled about on his cha and laughed until he was purple in t face.

At the close of the lecture and wh the people were leaving the hall prominent professor of the Harva Medical School came striding towa me over some intervening benches, a in an excited tone asked, "Who was th man?" I replied, "Mark Twain." "W that accounts for it," he said. "I h been wondering what man in Bost could do a feat like that and I nev had heard of him."

A few days after this lecture M Stanley was suddenly summoned b to England and was obliged to can the remainder of his lectures. reaching London he made preparati for his second journey into Africa, wh resulted in the discovery of the ori and course of the Congo River.

Boston, Massachusetts. G. M. GARLAN

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PUBLISHER'S NOTES

A JUSTICE of the Supreme Court of the State of Kansas was one of the first to enter The Outlook's second Prize Contest, which closed on March 31. The subject of this contest was "What the World War Did To Me;" and all manner of experiences, objective and subjective, have been recited. Some of the recitals are so intimate that, if published, the identity of their authors must be concealed behind pen-names. Judging from the returns, New York is the most introspective State in the Union, since New York contestants greatly outnumber those of any other State. As the contest drew to a close, California ran second, with Massachusetts, Illinois, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Ohio ranged in that order. Forty-four States, Canada, and Mexico battled for the prize money.

LETTERS from subscribers depicting the journeys of The Outlook after leaving their hands are reaching our offices every day.

A Spokane banker sends his copy to his mother in Scotland, who in turn sends it on to a circle of readers.

A subscriber in Ridgewood, New Jersey, sends her copy of The Outlook to a friend in Brooklyn who no longer can afford to buy it; she in turn passes it on to a sister in the country, who lends the copy to numerous other readers.

HOWARD MURRAY JONES, the Wisconsin farmer who won first prize in the first of our letter contests, writes us:

"The prize dollars and the complimentary copies of The Outlook knocked promptly at my door. They were welcome. Please accept my heartiest thanks. I think I was the most surprised of the four hundred entrants. Let me congratulate you on your good sportsmanship in awarding the prize to a critic. We all knew, in advance, that neither compliment nor criticism would influence your decision. However, it is rather a happy outcome that a criticism (constructively intended) was successful. The fine spirit of fellowship in your comments wins us all. I shall be a most enthusiastic spectator at the coming contests, cheering every good play and player."

FROM Pine Grove, West Virginia, comes the kind of letter that makes it a pleasure to be in the publishing business:

"The Outlook is all right. Although there's a sort of 'heavy, heavy hangs over your head' feeling among workingmen now—a fear lest they be laid off indefinitely—and a consequent tightening grip on money, I'll risk one of my five fives for the magazine another year. The contest letters were interesting. I depend on The Outlook for all National news and wonder sometimes if it couldn't tell me of more things happening throughout the Nation—say a column, or a page, of condensed news items of importance.

"The reviews of plays make one here in the woods hunger for New York. I'd almost starve a week to see 'The Green Goddess' after the write-up in your last issue.

"I'm glad I stumbled into a trial subscription."

Important Scribner Spring Books

What Really Happened at Paris

The Story of the Peace Conference, 1919

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The story of the Peace Conference by the men who took part in it. The other contributing delegates, in addition to Colonel House and Dr. Seymour, are: Charles H. Haskins, Robert H. Lord, Douglas Johnson, Isaiah Bowman, Thomas W. Lamont, Allyn A. Young, Samuel Gompers, Herbert C. Hoover, James Brown Scott, General Tasker H. Bliss, Admiral Henry T. Mayo, David Hunter Miller. $5.00.

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From certain definite conclusions of science regarding the evolution of man, this distinguished biologist attempts to infer the probable future of the human race. $2.50.

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By JOHN M. TYLER, Professor Emeritus of Biology at Amherst College.

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"If the man who reads this book has any intelligence at all, he will not be able to put it down without thinking with greater seriousness on problems that need thinking of. If he has any patriotism, he will not be able to put it aside, without pledging himself anew to an enlightened part in the day's work."—*Boston Transcript.* $2.00.

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"It is a book of stories told by a fascinating story teller, and our necessarily bald summaries give no hint of the humor, the wit, and, above all, the sunny and genial tone that pervades the volume from first to last."—*New York Times.* $1.75.

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DAVID MANNES is one of the most distinguished of American musicians. The violin sonata recitals which he and his wife give are unique in the musical life of this country. He was concert-master of the New York nphony Society from 1902 to 1911, l director of the Music School Settlent. Of this school for the benefit of children in the crowded East Side New York Mr. Mannes said: "In this lement they can forget the sordid ironment of the slums in a blazing it of adoration that can be expressed ough music."

DITH DANA WEIGLE was graduated from Wellesley College, class of 1920. is a product of Lafayette, Indiana, has recently come to New York.

LIZABETH BERTRON FAHNESTOCK (Mrs. Snowden A. Fahnestock) lives in v York City.

S. PAYNE is a new contributor to The Outlook. He is a graduate of University of Virginia, and studied rnational law at Columbia Uniity. He served two years as a t in the Army Air Service. Since war he has been engaged in the exbusiness both here and abroad.

IVAN MACAULEY is President of the Packard Motor Car Company and s in Detroit.

AROLD E. SCARBOROUGH contributed "The Most Distressful Country" to week's issue of The Outlook; he is mber of the New York "Tribune's" pean staff.

ARLES HENRY MELTZER was born in London and was educated in Lonand Paris. He was formerly Paris spondent for the Chicago "Trib- and correspondent at Paris, Rome, on, Spain, Berlin, and Cairo for New York "Herald." He has been atic critic for the New York "Herand "World." For seven years he New York correspondent for the on "Daily Chronicle." He drama- Dostoievsky's "Crime and Punish- ' as produced by Richard Mansfield. author of the English versions of al French and German plays.

N CARTER COCH- AN lives in Plain- New Jersey. father was the Williams Coch- a Presbyterian vman, and her er was the ter of Robert , the publisher. as traveled ex- ely in foreign ies; she spent a year visiting her rs in China, where they were mies. She is the author of several

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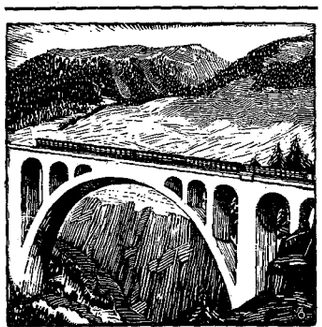

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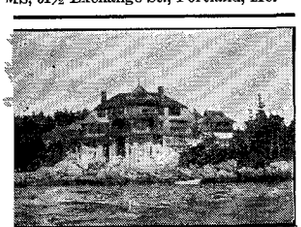

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3-in-One penetrates to the innermost part of a bearing. Works out old caked grease and dirt; keeps the parts clean, bright and working right; lubricates properly.

3-in-One

The High Quality Oil

In the office: Use on typewriters, adding machines, duplicating machines, dating stamps, cash registers, revolving chairs.

In the home: Use on sewing machines, victrolas, washing machines, ice cream freezers, hinges, locks, clocks, tools.

Outdoors: Use on bicycles, baby buggies, roller skates, guns, fishing reels.

3-in-One is the universal anti-squeak oil. A fine oil compound—non-acid, non-gumming—won't dry out.

At all stores in 60c, 30c, and 15c bottles also in Handy Oil Cans, 30c.

FREE To try before you buy, write now for generous free sample and Dictionary showing hundreds of uses in office, home, outdoors.

THREE-IN-ONE OIL CO.
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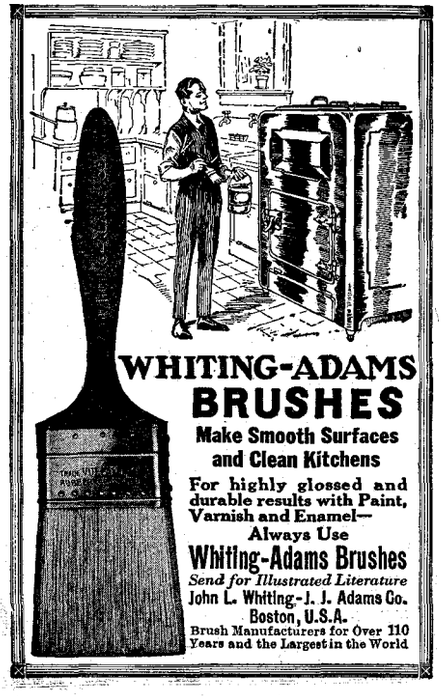

WHITING-ADAMS BRUSHES

Make Smooth Surfaces and Clean Kitchens

For highly glossed and durable results with Paint, Varnish and Enamel—

Always Use

Whiting-Adams Brushes

Send for Illustrated Literature

John L. Whiting-J. J. Adams Co.
Boston, U.S.A.

Brush Manufacturers for Over 110 Years and the Largest in the World

DEAF?

Send a post card for a new pamphlet filled with valuable facts that every deaf person should know. If you are only slightly deaf, don't let it go until it is too late! Or, if you are almost totally deaf, there may be a chance of restoring your hearing completely. This pamphlet will tell you. It also explains about a

NEW INVENTION

—The Mears De Luxe Ear Phone, and tells about our great 10-Day Free Trial Offer. Not a penny unless your hearing is improved. But first write for the free literature, NOW, before our supply is exhausted. Remember, there is no cost or obligation of any kind. Mail card or letter TO-DAY for this interesting pamphlet. Address:

MEARS EAR PHONE CO.
Dept. 124, 45 W. 34th St., New York, N. Y.

WHITE MOUNTAIN Refrigerators

"The Chest with the Chill in it"

Built on scientific principles and tested by use "*in over a million homes.*" Easy to clean, economical, durable and efficient. Sold in every city and important town in the United States.

Send for Handsome Catalogues and Booklets

Maine Manufacturing Co., Nashua, N. H.
Established 1874

Look for the name
WHITE MOUNTAIN

Cuts your ice bill.

BY THE WAY

THE "mother-and-daughter custom of a department store often presen saleswoman's most difficult problem, cording to a book entitled "The Hu Side of Retail Selling." The young "commonly known as a 'flapper,'" book says, comes in with her mot tries on a coat, pulls it off and says won't wear it. It makes me look a little girl." "Well, you won't get other," the mother says; "I know is suitable for a girl your age and yo too young to wear any other st "Then I don't want anything," the cries, with a flood of tears. Here co the tactful saleswoman's opportu "Girls of this age usually have more fidence in the saleswoman's opin than in that of their mothers. Bu winning over the daughter the s woman must be extremely careful to offend the mother by questioning judgment."

Gunner Grubb was an English a leryman who loved a cat. His stor told in the London "Sphere." He ca his kitten Juicyball, which was his ner of pronouncing Jezebel. "Her fa ite trick was to sit on the gun until breech was opened and then to po and crawl along until her head protr from the muzzle, and from this poin vantage to defy all efforts to extract until Grubb would requisition the cl ing rod." Grubb, sad to relate, jun out of his dugout one day, during a bardment, to rescue his kitten fro exposed place, and both soldier and were killed. Over Juicyball's grave, her soldier master's, a board was pl bearing the inscription, "To Puss, K in Action."

The Queen of the Belgians, we l from a recently published account of trip to America, is a remarkably s ful quoit player. Some distingui fellow-voyagers hesitated to enter lists against her in this game. On these was General Jacques, who dently has a keen sense of hu While he was watching Queen E beth's clever shots, some one asked "Well, General, aren't you going play?" With a laugh, the hero of mude replied: "What! I throw qu You do not really mean it! It w ruin my prestige!"

"I taught school among my ow ple in the Tennessee mountains fo eral years after I graduated from lege," a Southern lecturer says, reported by a subscriber. "Funny th happened. Hearing a boy say, 'I gwine thar,' I said to him, 'That's way to talk. Listen: "I am not g there; you are not going there; h not going there; we are not going th you are not going there; they are going there." Do you get the id 'Yessur, I gits it all right. *They nobody gwine.*'"

Advertisements often contain e taining bits of information. Here i example from the announcement

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furniture dealer in an English paper: "The Windsor chair is peculiar to the Southern Counties of England. The origin of its name is that George III saw a chair in a cottage near Windsor and was so pleased with it that he ordered a set to be made for royal use. It was largely copied in America, George Washington having a set at his house at Mount Vernon. Jefferson sat in a Windsor chair when he signed the Declaration of Independence in 1776. The backs of these chairs are very graceful and they are exceedingly comfortable chairs."

Under the head of "Spring Cold" the "Journal" of the American Medical Association prints these catarrhal verses:

By head ith achig subthig fierce,
By dose ith ruddig too,
Udleth by cold will thood ged well
I dote doe what I'll do.

I thdeethe ad thdeethe till I bost die,
The tears rud dowd by face,
I thig the way thad I catch cold
Ith bore thad a dithgrathe.

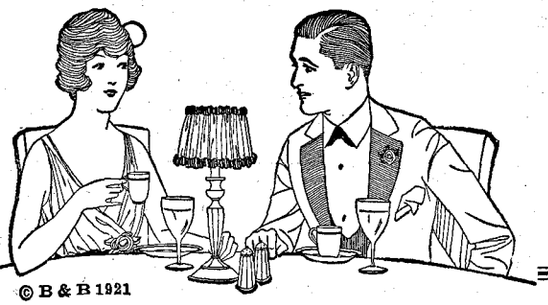
Movie devotees often wonder at the stunts depicted in scenes showing wild animals. The bears, lions, or leopards seem to do just what is required, with no fussing or urging. Sometimes, however, the camera men have their troubles in getting these pictures, as a despatch in a movie journal indicates. It reads: "Sennett's chief cameraman has returned from Truckee with his right arm in a sling; he was badly bitten by a motion picture wolf. 'Now,' he says, 'if that infernal hound had only tackled the zero the wolves were supposed to be after, what a fine piece of realism we'd have had.' The hero, however, doubts whether his devotion to art is great enough to make him yield up his right arm as a sacrifice."

A right arm in a sling is a sure enough tribute to art, but another paragraph in the journal above quoted tells of a movie actor who made the supreme sacrifice in his work: "Caught in the undertow off Redondo Beach, California, during the filming of a wreck scene for Gilbert Parker's story, 'The Money Master,' Morris Cohn was drowned, in spite of heroic efforts by a score of French swimmers to save his life."

"Pickup" presents an old idea in this new form:

I hate to be a kicker,
I generally stand for peace;
But the wheel that does the squeaking
Is the wheel that gets the grease.

We are advised that the cover picture of our issue for March 16 really presents a view of the Rockies across the border, in the Canadian National Park, instead of in the Glacier National Park, in Montana. The scenery in these splendid mountain parks is not dissimilar, and pictures taken during trips to the two parks seem to have been mixed, as they were made before the days of "autochromic cameras"—a possible hint to tourists who may have the good fortune to visit either of the parks this summer.



No Corns Today

unless folks let them stay

Millions of people nowadays keep completely free from corns.

At the first sign of a corn they use Blue-jay—the *liquid* or the *plaster*. The pain then stops. In a little while the whole corn loosens and comes out.

People who pare corns keep them. People who use old treatments—harsh, unscientific—do themselves injustice.

There is now a scientific corn ender. A famous chemist perfected it. This world-famed laboratory supplies it through druggists everywhere.

It is at your call. A touch will apply it. Its use seals the fate of a corn.

At least 20 million corns yearly are now ended in this easy, gentle way. Apply it to one corn tonight. Watch what it does.

Plaster or Liquid

Blue-jay

The Scientific Corn Ender

BAUER & BLACK Chicago New York Toronto
Makers of B & B Sterile Surgical Dressings and Allied Products

---

Vapo Cresolene

The Vapor Treatment for Coughs and Colds

Established 1879

The time for Vapo-Cresolene is at the ***first*** indication of a ***cold*** or ***sore throat,*** which are so often the warnings of dangerous complications.

It is simple to use, as you just light the little lamp that vaporizes the Cresolene and place it near the bed at night.

The soothing antiseptic vapor is breathed all night; ***making breathing easy,*** relieving the cough and easing the sore throat and congested chest.

Cresolene is recommended for **Whooping Cough, Spasmodic Croup, Influenza, Bronchitis, Coughs and Nasal Catarrh.** Its germicidal qualities make it a reliable protection against these epidemics.

It gives great relief in **Asthma.**

Cresolene has been recommended and used for the past forty years. The benefit derived from it is unquestionable

Sold by Druggists.
Send for Descriptive Booklet 31.

Try Cresolene Antiseptic Throat Tablets for the irritated Throat, composed of slippery elm bark, licorice, sugar and Cresolene. They can't harm you. Of your druggist or from us. 10c in stamps.

THE VAPO-CRESOLENE CO.
62 Cortlandt St., New York,
or Leeming-Miles Building
Montreal, Canada

You may be sure when you wear "**Bostons,**" your socks will not only stay up but will look as though they were ironed into place. If you see some fellow reach down for a dangling garter strap, pass the good word along to him.

GEORGE FROST COMPANY, BOSTON
Makers of **Velvet Grip Hose Supporters**
for Women, Misses, Children and Infants

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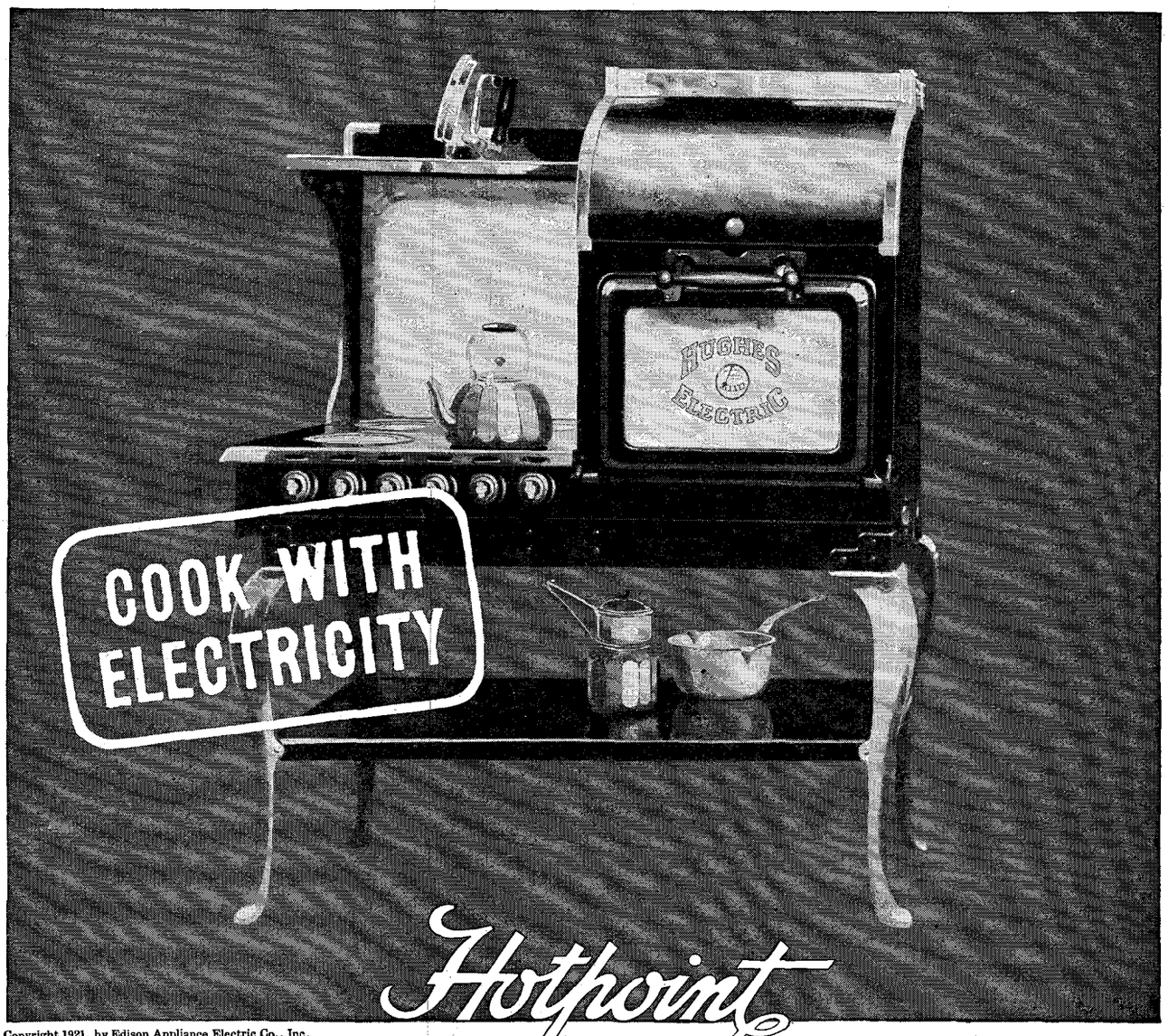

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Hotpoint HUGHES

EVERY time you drain the water from a kettle of cooked vegetables you are losing a large part of the natural flavor and nutriment of your food.

Every time you roast a piece of meat in the ordinary range oven you are losing, through evaporation, juices which carry away flavor, nourishment and actual poundage.

Vegetables cooked on the Hotpoint-Hughes Electric Range are steam-cooked—not water-cooked. This method retains flavor and nourishing values and keeps the food from being water-soaked.

Meat roasted or broiled in the Hotpoint-Hughes Electric Range is not subject to the shrinkage and drying-out process which the ordinary range oven imposes.

Thus, cooking on the Hotpoint-Hughes not only makes food more delicious, more savory and more digestible, but it results in an actual food-saving as well.

And it is the clean way to cook: no soot, no fumes, no greasy odors. Experts of leading cooking schools also endorse electric cookery for the saving of time, and the uniformly good results which it makes possible.

More women cook on Hotpoint-Hughes Electric Ranges than on any other electric range. There is a "Hotpoint" dealer in your town who will be glad to show you the size and style of Hotpoint-Hughes Electric Range suited to your family.

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